THE BRITISH CONNECTION WITH INDIA

The British Connection with India

BY

K. T. PAUL

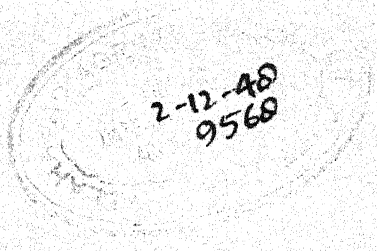
WITH A FOREWORD BY

THE EARL OF RONALDSHAY

FORMERLY GOVERNOR OF BENGAL,
AUTHOR OF "THE HEART OF ARYAVARTA," ETC.

LONDON
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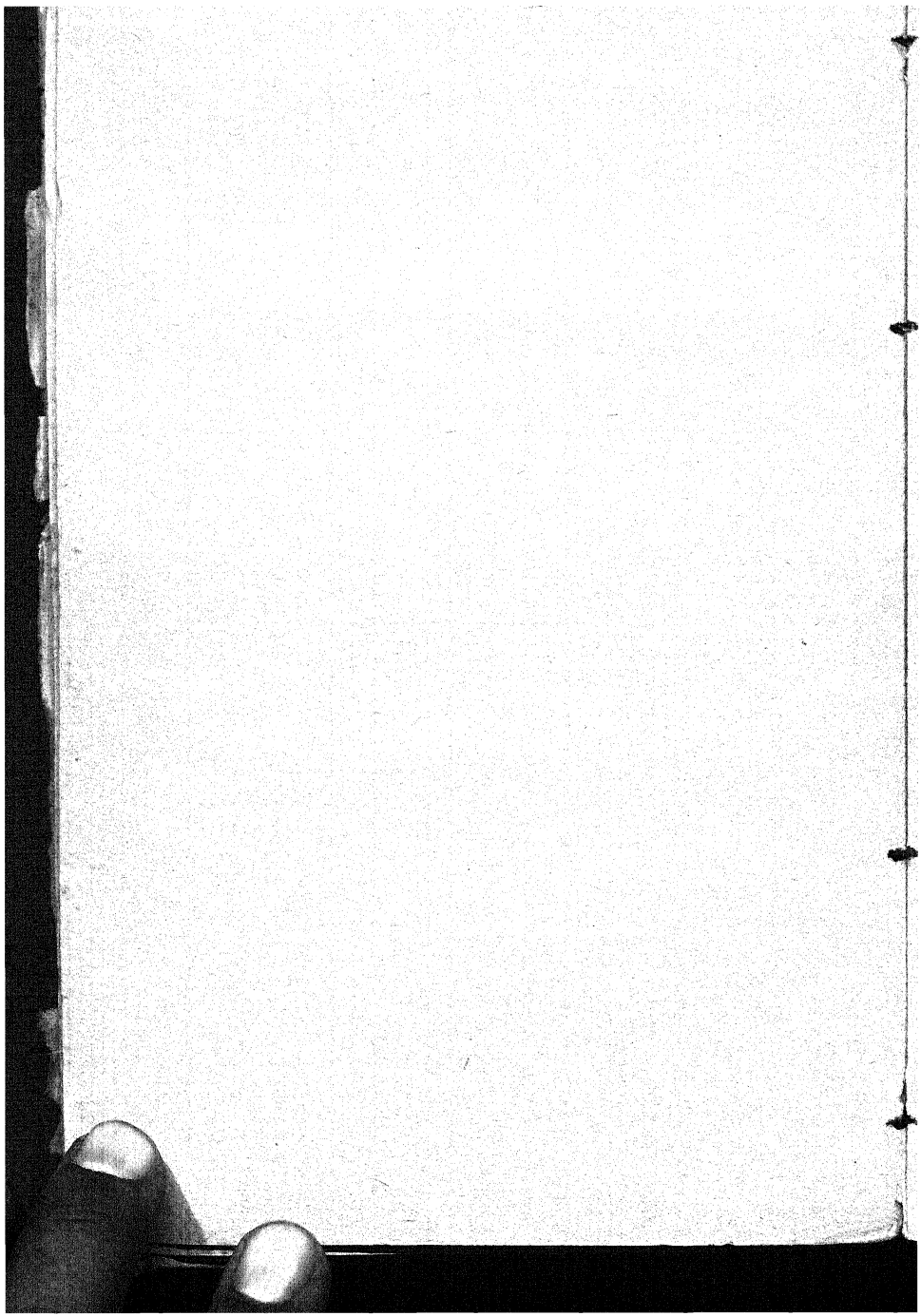
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TO HER

WHO IN THE FIRST TWENTY-ONE YEARS
OF MY LIFE SET BEFORE ME, IN PRACTICE
AS BY PRECEPT AND THROUGH MUCH
SUFFERING, THE SUPREME EXCELLENCE OF
THE MINISTRY OF RECONCILIATION
I DEDICATE
THIS STUDY IN UNDYING GRATITUDE.



PREFATORY NOTES

I

"WHAT does India want?" was the question every one in Britain asked the visitor in 1924. Some asked it cynically; which is out of our range here. But some others asked in real perplexity. They are India's friends.

To answer the question is by no means a simple matter. To say "India wants Swarajya" would be accurate; but far from satisfactory. Neither the significance nor the perspective of the concept of Swarajya, as it is steadily and even painfully evolving in the mind of India, can be secured except by first examining the values of the British connection in a fairly adequate way.

Life is not all politics: thank Heaven it is not. 'Swarajya' is more an elemental instinct than a wrought-out project, and arises from fundamental factors in the fabric of Indian personality. If one could step aside and realise the meaning of familiar things, there is happening what is really a creative phenomenon in the evolution of a fifth of the human race. It has been prepared for by a hundred years of impact which a typical Western people have with characteristic perseverance brought to bear on one of the most distinctive of Oriental peoples, calm and self-possessed in

the present power of their ancient discipline. It is as wide and as profound as life; and may I add, as sacred. To understand this aright is to match the question with that other with which I have been forced to conclude the book: 'What does Britain want?'

II

In a moment of weakness I agreed to interpret this international phenomenon. I have no qualification for it, except the very meagre one that, as to many others, this has been to me for many years a fascinating subject for study. But when I made the attempt I realised how inadequate that study was, and what is more, how study is of far less assistance than a judgment of human values on the grand scale, over a vast range of experiences. The topic demands a prophet who is also a statesman. It is therefore with much hesitation that I hand it on to those who wanted it. My sincere hope is that where I have attempted a very poor beginning, some one will follow and make a presentation really worthy of the subject.

III

The first draft of this book was made on the voyage home to India in 1924, and was referred to a few friends of both races for advice and suggestions. Pressure of duty and indifferent health compelled me to leave the manuscript

untouched till I was again on a voyage home to India at the end of 1926. I found it necessary to rewrite much of the first draft and to treble it in quantity. I mention this for possibly there will be in the book personal references differing in dates.

I am greatly indebted to quite a few friends for valuable advice and assistance; to mention names would be invidious.

IV

I have to add one important statement. A subject like this necessarily demands an expression of opinion on many things. Nothing that I have said here should be understood as representing the attitude of any of the organisations with which I happen to be officially connected in India or elsewhere. These are my own personal views and I am solely responsible for them.

K. T. PAUL.

CALCUTTA,
April 23, 1927.

FOREWORD

In the pages which follow, Mr K. T. Paul seeks an answer to two questions: "What does India want?" and "What does Britain want?" In theory the aim which the bulk of the thinking people in each country professes to be pursuing appears to be identical. That aim may be said to be the establishment of India as a free, self-governing unit within the confederation of the British Empire. Yet each, while travelling an apparently common road, is being brought into almost constant collision with the other—Why?

This question cannot be avoided by anyone attempting to furnish answers to Mr Paul's two questions. Rough edges have admittedly been produced by contact between Great Britain and India; and in the course of his survey Mr Paul inevitably throws much valuable light upon the causes. Incidentally he brings into prominence the comprehensive nature of the contact between the two countries which has given rise to the questions which he asks and seeks to answer. Indeed, I am not sure that I am right in saying "incidentally," for he lays—quite rightly—continuous stress upon the fact that the connection between Great Britain and India is far more than a mere political one. I say that he is right

in keeping constantly before the reader's mind the comprehensive character of the contact, because it is this, after all, that gives to their future relations so vital an importance. Were the ties between Great Britain and India political only, they might be snapped without fatal injury to either. It is because the connection is so comprehensive, covering every aspect of the life of each, political, social, economic and cultural, that the bonds by which they are united could not now be broken without irreparable damage to both.

This close organic interdependence becomes apparent as soon as the nature of the relations between the two countries, in their various aspects, is brought under examination. It is at once apparent in the sphere of economics. Quite apart from the fact that British capital is involved to the extent of hundreds of millions sterling, the whole elaborate superstructure, financial, industrial, and commercial, of modern India, is dependent for its maintenance upon daily transactions between thousands of Englishmen and thousands of Indians. Were these transactions suddenly to cease, the whole economic system would inevitably crash to the ground with results which, as Mr Paul observes, would ruin India and cause London finance, for all its world-wide foundations, to totter in a death dance.

Less obvious, because far more subtle, but none the less vital, are the ties which have been forged by contact in the cultural sphere. Briefly put, the effect of the impact of Western thought

upon the thought of India, has been to stir a people whose religious and cultural history, generally, stretches back with remarkable continuity over a period marked not by centuries but by millennia, to a fresh effort at self-expression. The contact between Great Britain and India, that is to say, not merely coincides with, but has been responsible for a new advance in the religious and cultural evolution of the Indian people. Their future outlook upon the universe will not necessarily be identical with that of the races of the West; but it will be very different from what it would have been had no contact ever taken place. And it is obvious that the India which has come into being as a result of this cultural re-birth cannot cut herself off from the source whence she draws the sap on which this new life of hers has to a large extent been nourished.

Mr Paul is abundantly justified, then, in insisting that it is only when the comprehensive character of the connection between Great Britain and India is grasped and borne in mind, that the recent political history of India can be read aright. For political happenings have been produced by causes whose origin has not been purely political. In his survey of the past few years, he travels necessarily over ground littered with the debris of much controversy. And it is not to be supposed that all his readers will view from precisely the same standpoint as he does, the complex happenings of the past decade. There

will be Indians who will regard his account of them as being coloured by his own insight into the Western point of view, just as there will be Englishmen who will believe his view of the various incidents to which he refers to be biassed by his understanding of, and his instinctive sympathy with, his own countrymen's reading of them. But this, after all, is a matter of comparatively little importance. What is of profound importance is the conclusion at which Mr Paul arrives. That conclusion is that the continuance of a close connection—even in the political sphere—between Great Britain and India, is not only inevitable but, in the best interests of both countries, desirable.

This is not to say, of course, that he does not urge a readjustment of the existing connection in its many—and primarily in its political—aspects. And it is here that he comes to an answer of the question: "What does India want?" She wants to preserve the integrity of her national identity and she wants an international recognition of such identity together with the freedom of all sorts of commerce with other nations, economic and intellectual, which such recognition connotes. This, as I have already pointed out, is not incompatible, in Mr Paul's view, with the continuance of a definite political connection with Great Britain, subject to one condition, namely, that British statesmanship is inspired by the psychology, and directed to the goal, not of *Empire* but of *Commonwealth*. Is this condition destined to be fulfilled? This brings Mr Paul to a brief con-

sideration of the question: "What does Britain want?" Is it dominance, or is it partnership? The preamble of the Act of 1919 seems to him, for all the promise that it holds out, to emphasise "Britain's faith in the eternity of British dominance over India." Is this to be a cardinal principle of British policy for all time? Or will the preamble to the next India Act embrace principles "which will henceforth enshrine the continuance of the British Connection in the hearts of India?" Mr Paul realises that the answer to this question depends not solely on the views of individual British statesmen or even of British Governments, but upon "the attitude which the whole British nation takes up mentally and morally towards India."

This book should do much to make clear to the English reader the Indian point of view. It is no reflection upon the Indian politician to say that it will carry all the more weight with Englishmen because it is written by one who happens to be engaged in social and philanthropic, rather than in political, activities. But the book should prove of value also to Indians, who, while vaguely conscious perhaps of the comprehensive nature of the connection between the two countries, have nevertheless failed, in the political ferments of recent years, to view it in the broad and dispassionate perspective in which Mr Paul presents it.

RONALDSHAY.

August 1927.

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THE BRITISH CONNECTION WITH INDIA

CHAPTER I

WHAT DOES THE BRITISH CONNECTION COMPRISE?

THE contact of the Western peoples with India has continued from prehistoric times. The reputation of India for her material products and for what her scholars and seers had to teach was widely prevalent in very early times in the Levantine countries, in Egypt, in Greece and in Rome, not to speak now of Central Asia, Malaya and the great Archipelago near it, and on to the Farthest East. There is abundant evidence to indicate a continual exchange of ideas, as well as of goods, between India and the West, in the remote times when India was one of the few homes of what was then advanced culture.

Later on, when history begins to supplement archæology, the Buddhist propaganda in the centuries immediately preceding Christ apparently came very near giving a decided Indian basis to the thought and in consequence the life of the Levantine countries; and the well-organised commercial intimacies of Rome with South India which prevailed at the beginning of our era,

promised to extend Indian influence steadily and, in the atmosphere of the *Pax Romana*, effectively, over the countries farther west. Compared with India those countries were still in a relatively formative stage and therefore receptive of Indian thought.

But the downfall of Rome and the consequent interruption of the commercial relations with India, the rapid spread of Christianity around the Mediterranean, the forceful outburst of Islam from the very centre of the area of Indian influence abroad and its spread on all sides to the banks of the Indus and to the pillars of Hercules —these were some of the causes which wellnigh completely interrupted this influence for several centuries. What Venice and the Merchant Cities of the so-called Middle Ages drew from India was in comparison with the Augustan Age but a thin stream of goods and a thinner stream of ideas.

The point of interest is that in all those times, pre-Roman, Roman and Venetian, there was little or no contribution from the West to India. India taught or gave, receiving comparatively little in return. The contact was so to say entirely one-sided; it was the contact of the West with India and not the contact of India with the West.

The discovery of the ocean route by the Portuguese was the beginning of the real contact of India with the Western peoples and their culture. From A.D. 1500 the Portuguese, the

Danes, the Dutch, the French and the British established "settlements" in India. Of these it has been given to the British to bring to bear upon India a thorough-going impact of much that is meant by Western Culture, good, bad and indifferent. What precisely would have happened if any of the other four had had that opportunity it were futile to investigate. The fact remains that while Western Culture, viewed as transcending British Culture, has in more recent times secured certain avenues of direct contact with India, in the main India has understood by Western Culture that distinctive edition of it which can be so easily recognised anywhere in the world as British.

The British connection with India has now continued a hundred years and more. This long-drawn-out process has meant a widely comprehensive impact between the two peoples, of varying degrees of effectiveness; at numerous points a truly penetrating mutual influence. To construe the British connection merely in its political aspect is to secure a beggared and deformed estimate of a great international phenomenon, and it will inevitably render all consequent thinking unbalanced and unhealthy. The situation should be taken in its wholeness, if any judgment about it is to be worthy or even accurate.

It may be useful to put down here in bare outline an analysis of *some* of the elements which make up this spacious relationship:

A. Economic:

i. Commercial.
ii. Industrial.
iii. Financial.

B. Administrative:

i. Civil:
 (*a*) Revenue organisation.
 (*b*) The Judiciary.
 (*c*) Public utility services to combat Famine, Disease, Illiteracy, Poverty.
ii. Military.

C. Cultural and Christian:

i. Education and Literature.
ii. Social and ameliorative philanthropy, including the uplift of the 'Depressed Classes.'
iii. Human friendships.

D. The Contacts Overseas.

A. Economic.

It all began with trade. "Europe has always depended for most of her luxuries upon the tropics: gold and ivory and gems, spices and sugar and fine woven stuffs, from a very early age found their way from India and the East,

coming by slow and devious routes. Until the end of the fifteenth century the European trader had no direct contact with the sources of these precious commodities, the supply of them was scanty and the price high. The desire to gain a more direct access to the sources of this traffic, and to obtain control of the supply formed the principal motive for the great explorations. . . . They brought a colossal increment of wealth to the countries which had undertaken them. Hence the acquisition of a share in, or a monopoly of these lucrative lines of trade became a primary object of ambition to all the great states."[1] To reinforce this in infinite measure came the discovery of steam power and in consequence the possibility of organising mass production through machinery.

Meanwhile India lay everywhere open in ingenuous and confiding responsiveness. She was, according to the standard of the times, most highly developed in industry and commerce and in regard to all the arts and conveniences of life then known anywhere in the world. For all the needs, comforts and luxuries of her vast population India (that is the countries comprising India) was in fact self-contained within the boundaries of the sea and the Himalayas. She was self-contained, but not self-satisfied; unlike the Far East, India ever kept an open door to all comers whatever they offered by way of culture or commerce. But the advantage was with the Western

[1] *The Expansion of Europe*, p. 6. By Ramsay Muir.

arrivals. For though India was highly developed in culture and industry she was set in her ways and lacked those possibilities which the more mobile and enterprising nations of Europe, at that time in the fresh outburst of their youthful vigour, were brilliantly discovering and constantly learning from one another.

The result could be only one, the uninterrupted development of an economic connection which has literally enmeshed the entire sub-continent. In the production of raw materials, both mineral and agricultural, and in the perfecting of all those facilities, without and within, which can make India a vast market, British capital has been poured out in millions and British personnel has been engaged by the tens of thousand. To-day there is probably no great economic enterprise in the country, with the sole exception of the production of food grains, which is not directly or indirectly dependent on British commerce, industry or finance. No other country, not even a British colony, comes anywhere near comparable distance to Britain in the extent or the intimacies of this relationship. The destinies of two great peoples have in this wise been woven together, warp and woof, for over a century of incessant activity. In the process of it and as a direct result of it, cities have come into being, populations have shifted their residence, well-established social arrangements have been remodelled, and diverse by-products have issued, of cultural as well as of economic value. We have, in fact, arrived at

a stage when economic separation is unthinkable. If some catastrophe should suddenly effect it, the result would be an economic revolution of colossal magnitude which would ruin India, and make London finance totter in a death-dance in spite of its world-wide foundations. If India became politically independent to-day, her statesmen would on the morrow seek to conserve the economic relationship with Britain on the surest foundations.[1]

B. ADMINISTRATIVE.

The administrative connection has been by design worked out in detail with a thorough attention to practically every need of the people which a state can possibly reach. The high and mighty Government of India not merely speaks for a fifth of the human race at the Council Table of the world at Geneva, but also sells in retail half a hundredweight of firewood to the humblest coolie in the bazaar! The Land Revenue Department of administration may be taken as a typical example. The State owns all the land; and ninety per cent. of the people depend directly or indirectly on land. The State is thus the superlandlord of India and almost all her people are its tenants. With the rainfall never reliable and famine always in the offing, the State has to be vigilant so long as land rent forms wellnigh the bulk of its revenue. A failure of rain may involve a 'remission' of part of the rent; and

[1] *Vide* Appendix A.

the equities of the part to be remitted cannot be adjusted except by providing for the most thorough-going land records organisation the world has ever seen. Every square foot has been surveyed; the quality of the soil is classified periodically, while its actual output is carefully registered from season to season by resident village officials. In any of the 700,000 villages resident officers can produce at a moment's notice record of all the farming and rainfall happenings for the past twenty, thirty and in some parts even forty years, including an annual census of the cattle ![1]

[1] These village officials are an institution from a period long anterior to the British connection. Many of them are 'hereditary,' and the responsibility has been held in the family for several generations. The British connection has, so to say, brought this institution also 'up-to-date,' and integrated it into the vast but thoroughly centralised machinery. They are, for instance, supervised by 'Revenue Inspectors,' usually University graduates. These again are kept in efficiency by the more experienced 'Tahsildars,' one to each Tahsil or County of about 100 to 200 thousand people. Over them again are the 'Divisional Revenue Officers,' who have to tour in detail over the whole ground once a year to test the accuracy and thoroughness of the records and to attend to all complicated cases calling for special inquiry. These officers in their turn are controlled by the 'Collector' of the whole District, with a population of from one to two millions, usually a Britisher in the I.C.S. cadre. He has himself to go in one of these tours, called *Jamabandi*, once a year, personally scrutinising the records and the affairs of one or more Tahsils. Over the Collectors is the Commissioner or the 'Revenue Board.' The conception in the mind of the Indian Ryot (peasant) is that the Revenue Board Office is "an ocean which in its submarine caves stores all about every one for five generations," and he is not far wrong.

A Criminal Law common to all persons without distinction; a personal and Civil Law in accordance with every one's particular traditions; a judicial machinery organised regardless of cost so as to make legal remedy available to practically every person in the land; relief and ameliorative measures on a gigantic scale to grapple with famines,[1] to which India is so frequently liable; curative and preventive medical work to reach the ordinary ills as well as the emergency needs of a population as large as that of Europe (barring Russia), many of whom live in conditions exposing them to many kinds of poison; an ever-increasing supply of schools and teachers to overtake the illiteracy of a people whose net increase per annum is some two millions; it is no exaggeration to say that each one of these lines of what is 'official service' really imply an expenditure of human worth and personality, the recounting of which will be more fascinating than a romance. These and more represent the quality, the care and the potentialities of the administration.

To the many millions of India the fact of the British connection as much as its character is

[1] *Vide, History and Economics of Indian Famines.* A. Loveday. "The Famine Code" is one of the text-books which regulate the everyday work of the Collector and his Revenue hierarchy. For instance, every year, whether there is any possibility of famine or not, the Collector has to collect data and prepare for the Government a full scheme of Relief Works such as could be started in the event of a famine; the District Executive Engineer has to keep in correct check and in readily-usable condition all the tools necessary for such Relief Work.

in this manner brought to the very door in the tiniest village. The 'Sircar' is here, there and everywhere. Its long arm can be touched wherever you are. It is relentlessly watchful of 'public' rights; but it is there also to protect. And above all its unfailing power and the marvel of organisation which secures that power are the solid impressions which possess the mind, even as the law which bids the sun rise every morning and set every evening!

There is only one part of the administrative connection which is not appreciated adequately by the Indian people. It is the military defence of India. From the Hindu Kush to Makaran is a thousand miles as the crow flies, and the Trans-Indus width of this tract of land is anywhere from four hundred to forty miles. It is physically a very difficult country, and although the Union Jack floats aloft, much of it is really No Man's Land, over which through all the centuries marauding tribes have wandered, owning allegiance to no mortal sovereign. To maintain a foothold in this immense, wild area demands a more or less continuous sacrifice of faithful and heroic men. The century of continuous peace which has made possible to India an enormous development in many lines of life, material and cultural, is due primarily to this military undertaking. To this service undertaken by one people for another I do not know of a parallel in the history of the world, not excluding Rome; either in the magnitude or the difficulty or the cost in

human life, for the protection of a frontier for the purpose of ensuring normal times for a continental population.[1] If this service of Britain is not appreciated by India, the only reason is that it is not known. And for this ignorance the people of India are not to blame. The Princes of India do appreciate it, for they are in a position to realise its significance. Within the last four years leading publicists have come to be in a position to take some measure of its value. More and more of appreciation will be possible as the years go forward and the ice-bound confines of the army organisation become more and more accessible to Indians.

C. Cultural and Christian.

Not the least valuable phase of the British connection is what may be described as Cultural and Christian. The economic development, magnificent as it has been, was still 'business' in the strictest sense. It was good business, but 'business is business.' The administrative organisation, with all its perfection, was apiece

[1] Dr Rushbrook Williams in his *Report on India for* 1923-24 furnishes statistics which show what happens when there is any loosing of control, and how effectively the defence is maintained by the army.

Year	Raids	British Subjects Killed	Wounded	Kidnapped	Ransomed	Released without Ransom	Loot Rs.
1919–20	611	298	392	463	94	313	2,130,209
1920–21	301	153	157	310	56	196	286,284
1921–22	194	80	72	148	35	108	145,670
1922–23	125	47	48	60	10	43	77,540

with an Empire-building programme which rendered all the time more worthy and more resplendent the brightest jewel in the diadem which Britain could wear in the sisterhood of the Great Powers. The magnificent military undertaking is a vital part of the same Imperialistic policy. But the service of the educator, the indologist, the philanthropist, the missionary, is on a totally different plane.

The colleges and universities have been the portals to English literature, which is in itself high privilege; and also, through the English language, to the entire philosophy, science, art and culture of the Western world. The staffs of 165 colleges, day in and day out, serve 50,000 students enrolled annually in their classes. In the High School stage, which is in some ways of no smaller importance, there are 2250 institutions with 600,000 scholars. The three Universities—Madras, Calcutta and Bombay—instituted in 1857, had to be supplemented in the eighties by Lahore and Allahabad. The two denominational universities which followed, Aligarh and Benares, while they are devoted respectively to Islamic and Hindu learning, are equally solicitous of imparting knowledge in every good thing which is obtainable through the English language. And recently, in very quick succession, nine new universities have had to be chartered.[1] More are in various stages of formation.

[1] Rangoon, Dacca, Patna, Lucknow, Delhi, Nagpur, Osmania, Andhra, Mysore.

Of particular value in this whole process of higher educational work is the scientific research into many lines of intellectual, social, religious, historical, archæological and æsthetic interest, in which ancient and mediæval India expressed itself. In the days of Wilson,[1] Jones[2] and Carey[3] it was rightly called the 'discovery of Sanskrit.' Their noble example was followed in many avenues of research, not only in literature, by an ever-increasing number of scholars in Britain and in many countries of Europe and America. Their selfless services have brought India to some of her own priceless heritage, and have stimulated to like activity Indians of brilliant parts, from Bhandharkar,[4] Ranade[5] and Telang[6] to Krishnaswami Iyengar and Jadunath Sircar. It is already a great roll even of first-class scholars, of both foreign and Indian birth. In its deeper aspect it amounts to co-operation in a study which is of fundamental significance for the cultural connection of Britain with India.

Philanthropic service is represented by the work for women, for orphans, for lepers, for the blind, the deaf and dumb, for the depressed classes, for criminal tribes and for the sick, through various sanatoria and hospitals scattered through-

[1] Horace Hayman Wilson, 1786-1860.
[2] Sir Wm. Jones, 1746-1794.
[3] Rev. Wm. Carey, 1761-1834.
[4] Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, 1837-1925.
[5] Mahadev Govind Ranade, 1842-1901.
[6] Kashinath Trimbak Telang, 1850-1893.

out the land in supplement of what the State has organised. The enormous ratio of the work of the missionaries to what is provided by the State cannot be realised except through some figures. The hospitals and dispensaries conducted in 1923 by Protestant Missions alone numbered 701, the number of patients treated during the year, 3,149,115, the number of beds maintained 4590. The Roman Catholic Missions do a very considerable amount of work, probably quite as much as these large totals.

In all these different forms of service the factor of infinite worth is the personal friendships involved. At any one moment there are in India over 4000 Protestant missionaries (and possibly a larger number of Catholics) hailing from every land in Christendom. Their numbers since the days of Francis Xavier and William Carey runs to many thousands. These men and women have led lives of simple and sincere friendship and service in villages as in cities, among aborigines and hill tribes as with the cultured and well-to-do, in colleges and hospitals as in bazaar and street corner. No claim for perfection is made in their behalf. But considered altogether these men and women have represented an element in the connection with Britain and the West, of the deepest and most constructive value—which is indeed high reckoning. However haltingly, they do stand for the best and the purest in Western culture; and to the average Indian the credit as well as the curse of every

contribution from the West is reckoned against Britain.[1]

It is in this comprehensive way that the extent and character of the British connection should be realised.

We shall find as we proceed that the response of India is on a scale equally comprehensive.

[1] Standing out among them are men and women, like William Miller of Madras, whose personal friendship to successive sets of young men drawn from every district in Madras Province through some thirty years of educational work, has left an indelible mark on the standards of life, and on probity both personal and public. While Miller was certainly exceptional, it is true that most missionaries leave their impress on the people among whom they live.

CHAPTER II

THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT

WESTERN culture little knew what it was doing when it came to India in the form of the British connection. India, perhaps, is the one 'ancient' culture which has maintained a continuity of life and development right on to these 'modern' times. Turn to the political history of India and you find every page filled with invasions and confusions: turn to the cultural history of her people and you marvel at an uninterrupted flow of forty centuries. From the immortal Vedas and Upanishads for a thousand years to Gautama Buddha,[1] who enlightened the whole of Asia; from him on for one thousand one hundred years till Sankara[2] finally established on a high intellectual basis the movement toward the establishment of a rehabilitated Hinduism; then onwards to the arrival of Britain through another millennium which saw the rise of the various Bhakti movements, there is an even flow of thought and inquiry, of religious experience and social discipline. Meanwhile, empires had risen and fallen, dynasties had flourished and dwindled away, invaders had arrived, settled, and been

[1] Fifth century B.C. [2] *Circ.*, seventh century A.D.

assimilated, all these and their heroic deeds had been numbered with the accumulating 'past glories' of India. Hindus knew better than to trust to the shifting sands of political power for conserving or developing their priceless culture. They entrusted it to something more fundamental to human nature—to a social organisation—and entrenched it in religious sanctions, engraven not in stone or metal, but in the tablets of the living hearts and consciences of the people.[1]

[1] Some years ago Mr C. Y. Chintamani of the *Leader* of Allahabad collected a symposium from men of real authority on the question: 'What are the essentials to be reckoned a Hindu'? Much varied and interesting material was collected. The net result of it all was that not any creed, any custom, any external mark, any ritual, or anything else usual to other religions was necessary, but that one should belong to a caste which was recognised by general public opinion as a Hindu caste. But as one cannot enter a caste by choice, it was agreed that to be a Hindu one should have been born in a Hindu caste and should not have renounced it. So subtle and intangible as scarcely to reveal its power over its own members so long as there is no transgression, the Hindu social system has been through the centuries most potent in holding every individual to his social obligations, religious duties, and also to his economic and civic responsibilities. To it is due those perfections in craftsmanship brought about by a process of apprenticeship of son to father through perhaps two hundred generations. To it is due the protection of the widow and orphan, the aged and infirm, the under-privileged and handicapped. To it also is due the steady pursuit of knowledge and culture through those classes who were, so to say, told off to devote themselves exclusively to it as students and teachers. Caste has large dark blots in its scheme and is to-day happily undermined to its foundations. But India owes all that is her distinctive identity almost exclusively to the protection afforded by caste and by its unchallengeable potentiality for good.

It was a marvellous feat. Nothing else could have withstood the vigour of Islam which came soon after Sankara, founded great kingdoms, built great cities, patronised art and culture and ruled vast territories for seven centuries. Hindu culture came through it practically unscathed. It would be nearer the truth to say that Hindu culture threw its mantle over Islam and caused all unawares the emergence, within the household of that simple Semitic monotheism, of a deep metaphysics racy of the soil.[1]

The deeper one realises the meaning of the inner history of Hindu culture, the clearer is the conviction that the continuity of its history, in spite of the most potent adverse circumstances within and without, is because its content, as also its discipline, is derived from certain eternal verities of human life and relationship.[2]

It is this culture, so ancient, so strong in its tried strength, so distinctive, so true, and so precious as a heritage, that Western culture encountered with the spear-head of the British connection. And Western culture has done what nothing else was able to do! She did not set out to penetrate the culture of India, but she *has* done it! The thoroughness of the organisation where-

[1] In this connection it is very interesting to note that a fellow-passenger of mine on this boat, a Javanese, who is a very good Mohammedan, bears the name of Sastravidagda! While the religion of practically the whole of his nation is Islam, he tells me that the literature studied is still Ramayana and Mahabarata, and that a recent production of high merit is on 'Agastya.'

[2] *Vide* Appendix B.

with Britain bore on every aspect of life over every part of the nation was one factor. The uninterruptedly accumulating pressure for a hundred years was another factor. The intrinsic quality of her method of service and the essential reality of the best in her message were the supreme factors. In other words, where Western culture was at its best, that is at the standard of Christ, time and method being ancillary, she *did* penetrate. Where the West had only material efficiency to rely on, time and method have left the heart of India cold and repelled. As a matter of fact, the penetration is deep and extensive; and the National Movement of India is the symptom of it.

(*A.*) *Birth of Great Religious Movements.*

India would not be India if her national movement did not begin in the plane of religion. The Brahma Samaj was the first-fruit of the British connection. It was an attempt to express religious life and thought afresh in assimilation of some of the ideas and usages presented by the West. The pendulum was bound to swing back. The Arya Samaj arose in passionate loyalty to the ancient Scriptures, and yet inevitably it was different from current Hinduism, and new, for it could not escape the new environment; its life is still vigorous and progressive in the North. The Theosophical Movement was more successfully reactionary, but its day was short, though its influence was wide while it prevailed. Its

great offshoots are the cult of Sanatana Dharma and the Benares Hindu University. The greatest of these religious revivals was the Ramakrishna Mission: set in its enthusiasm by the flaming apostle Vivekananda, it has spread most widely of them all. In striking significance of the new leaven it places emphasis foremost on social and humanitarian service, giving service the highest sanction by a richer interpretation of *Karma* Yoga than was usually understood by it. Is it not significant that those truly national leaders, Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Mahatma Gandhi, with their unalloyed Indian feelings, embodied their political ideas, radically divergent as they were in spirit and content, in religious language and appeal? Tilak's Commentary on the Bhagavad Gita, which is in such frank and bold departure from the great Sankara, will live for ever as one of the unerring signs of the times. Mr Gandhi's appeal to the Sermon on the Mount as the supreme criterion of private and public conduct is even more openly significant of the same process.

Thus India has been struggling to find fresh forms of expression for her soul in response to those of the impulses from the West which have been life-stirring. Here we are on sacred ground; and need much humility and reverence to discern the inwardness of the phenomena.

First arose the Brahma Samaj. The founder of it, Ram Mohan Roy,[1] came from an orthodox Kulin Brahmin family, but one which had come

[1] b. 1774—d. 1833.

into frequent and intimate touch with the Government of the Mohammedan state of Bengal. For his studies he went to Patna, one of the really living centres of Islamic culture. It was what he imbibed there that constrained him to become a reformer of religion and society, and he not only proclaimed his views but also suffered persecution before he ever learnt a word of English. It is well to realise this, for it is typical of Hindu religious evolution. If Britain had not been there, he would probably have been a prophet in the 'succession' of Kabir and Nanak, establishing a new sect of Vaishnavite Hinduism coloured by the theism of Islam and the devotional life rendered richer by the experiences voiced by the Sufis. As it was, these influences prevailed with Ram Mohan Roy to the end of his life.

But there was Britain becoming every day more insistent in its presence. In 1796, when quite twenty-four, he started on the English language, and by 1803 his life was so radically influenced by new ideals that his mother and wives refused to live with him any longer. In 1815 he founded the 'Atmiya Sabha,' the nebulous beginning of the Brahma Samaj; this was the year *before* the beginning of his friendship with Carey. The next four years had to be devoted to hard study, working at the same time on the Upanishads and the Vedanta Sutras, in Sanskrit, and on the Old and New Testaments in the original Hebrew and Greek! Two books he published as a result: *An Abstract of the Sutras*, and a

momentous pamphlet entitled *The Precepts of Jesus: A Guide to Peace and Happiness.* To him "the Upanishads taught pure theism uncontaminated by idolatry"; and "Jesus was a theist like himself, his disciples misunderstood him and the whole edifice of Christianity was a mistake." On such a foundation, in 1828, the Brahma Samaj was inaugurated to replace the Atmiya Sabha and learned Brahmins were engaged "to restore Hindu worship to its pristine purity."

Devendranath Tagore,[1] who followed, had the task of erecting an edifice of faith, order and ritual on such a foundation. But, slender though it looked, truly formidable it was in its militant theism—on the one hand against the current teaching and practices of orthodox Hinduism and on the other hand against the evangelistic zeal of Duff and the other emissaries of a foreign and denationalising religion. The first period of his ministry saw (1) a definite and total breaking away from all idolatrous ritual; (2) a clear repudiation of Sankara's monism; and (3) in response to Duff's challenge: 'On what authority doest thou these things'? the enunciation of the right of human reason to interpret the Vedas and all sacred Scriptures. So far, what may be called the Protestant spirit. The next period, which came after a prolonged retirement of eighteen months in the Himalayas, saw him enriching the spiritual and the devotional sides of the Samaj by books, sermons, and liturgies.

[1] b. 1818—d. 1905.

Keshab Chander Sen,[1] who came into leadership at this time, showed by his actions that the Protestant fervour created by the Western leaven was unsatisfied with the measure of progress that was possible to Devendranath. Keshab was twenty years younger, more of a product of Western education, which was now in full swing; he had come very early in life into close fellowship with British friends, and was in open search of a spiritual home which would in some measuer be really satisfactory to his earnest soul. His was the generation from which several Bengalis of brilliant parts actually joined the Christian Church. Keshab represented the much larger group who could not go so far. To them Devendranath was a great master, but too conservative to be consistent. Chiefly caste was to them utterly obnoxious: priesthood in the Samaj could not be confined to men of Brahmin birth, and the Samaj should openly encourage inter-caste marriages. Also they wanted a larger place to be given to the study and reverence of Jesus Christ. At the same time it is significant that Keshab also, as he grew more mature, passed on to a second stage, when he sought to enrich the ritual of the Samaj with material drawn direct from the practices of the Chaitanya sect of Vaishnavites.

We cannot tarry to enter more fully into the Brahma Samaj or to work out its history. To our present purpose it is significant that the

[1] b. 1838—d. 1884.

Brahma Samaj was the first phase in the response of India to the West. It is a real part of India's "Nationalism," though Nationalism will need to be construed with a much richer content than is usual, if one is to use that phrase. But it is truly so. The spirit of the West was compelling on those who came into close touch with it. But the heart within the mind refused to break away; it felt that intrinsically the spirit of India was not inconsistent with the spirit of the West; it sought to remove 'the traditions of the elders' which had overlaid dross on the gold, it worked heroically to readjust and reform, and in these ways to bring about a state of affairs which would be 'India' still, but no longer in seeming variance with the spirit of the West.

This was a giant task. The founders of the Brahma Samaj laboured under serious disabilities. On the one hand they did not know enough of the West, not enough really to discriminate values. On the other hand the great lore of India was still in the main unavailable to them, and generally to that section of the public who came under the Western influence. Of the three, Devendranath knew most; but it is pathetic to read of the ways in which he got access to Indian Scriptures and worked on them with immense perseverance. Moreover it takes not only book learning but human fellowship and experiences to discern the real values of a foreign culture. It was therefore clearly too early in the day to effect satisfactory readjustments. All honour to them

that they paid the price, broke the ice and set the pace for the generations which have followed. But the Brahma Samaj as a national influence is to-day a spent force.

The next great religious movement, the Arya Samaj, was initiated by one who had never had the opportunities of modern education. Mulshankar[1] was a Hindu village youth, earnest in religion, typical of many thousands who in every generation leave home and world in response to the spiritual call within. Like them, he wandered from shrine to shrine, from teacher to teacher, in the quest of the ages. But it was already a reawakening India in which he wandered wistfully, seeking for light. For in the thirty-ninth year of his age, when he attained to the stage of initiation as Dyanand Sarasvaty, the oath demanded of him by the aged Virajanand was that "he would wage unceasing warfare against the dogma and the idolatry of the Puranic faith and establish education in accordance with the ancient Brahminic tradition." This oath, coming as it did from one who was entirely innocent of Western things, is significant of the times; and if Dyanand went forth to thirty years of hard struggle and suffering and final success, it was because he had a message which India itself was beginning to feel after, and because he was made in the mould of the rulers of men who can compel conviction even in advance of times. Dyanand was no ordinary prophet. Wherever he went he de-

[1] Later called Dyanand Sarasvaty, b. 1827—d. 1883.

manded obedience; though he had little of those furnishings in ancient or modern culture which could secure him acceptance. At first every man's hand was against him as he travelled widely over North India and the Deccan. It was the force of his own personality and his unquenchable conviction in his message which impelled him ever forward. Meanwhile he was himself perforce learning a great many things in the discipline of public propagandism. The visit to Calcutta in 1872, nine years after starting on his mission, when he came in touch with the Brahma leaders and with Ramakrishna Paramahamsa, made a very great difference to him. In three more years the Arya Samaj was 'established' in Bombay and two years later when it was 'transferred' to the Punjab it struck deep roots in that country and found an abiding home among that people.

The Arya Samaj is even more of the people of the Indus-Ganges country than of Dyanand Sarasvaty. Nowhere in its history is there a conscious attempt to receive anything from the West. It is on the other hand a deliberate turning aside from Western lore to reorder Hindu life and religion so as to save it from 'falling a prey to those Western influences.' Obviously, such a 'reordering,' to be successful in its purpose, must necessarily be worked out in the light of the 'Western' values, which would otherwise be too attractive to the Northern youth. That is precisely what is happening. The Arya Samaj

has an enormous programme of education and very vigilant missionary activities directed among those castes who are otherwise accessible to Islam and Christianity and oftentimes also among those who have recently embraced those religions.

It is certainly a living force in India, chiefly in the North; not merely as a religion but even more as an aggressive movement to purify the faith, train leadership, and secure steady, social progress, if need be in active opposition to the propaganda of other religions, but all the time on well-defined lines of constructive work for the Hindus themselves.

While these movements were chiefly characteristic of Bengal and the North, Maharashtra and the South witnessed a movement toward scholarship, deep and scientific, of all true Hindu lore. In Maharashtra this was not associated with any sect or school of thought in particular, and it embraced reformers as well as conservatives. In the South the impetus came largely from the Theosophical Society founded by the Russian Blavatsky, and the American Olcott, and later on greatly strengthened by Mrs Besant. It was a true insight of Madame Blavatsky and Col. Olcott which made them offer their co-operation (in 1880) to Dyanand Sarasvaty. If that energetic apostle had somehow accommodated into his reforming programme the scholarship which the Theosophists could have furnished, there might have been certain results of unusual interest running across the whole continent. But

that could not be. Dyanand's formula remains fragmentary and the Theosophical Society could not become a national power. The chequered career of its foreign leaders is not important to us here: the point we note is that while that Society in itself has been of little influence, its impetus has been directly and even more indirectly toward a searching study of Hindu lore. It has amounted to a real 'movement' of increasing strength and value, and has manifested itself in diverse ways, chief among them being the establishment of the Hindu University of Benares, which is one of the most substantial foundations, and is already offering as comprehensive opportunities for scholarship as any university in India.

Meanwhile another star had arisen in the East, the greatest yet kenned since the interaction with the Western culture. Ramakrishna[1] was no scholar, no flaming apostle, no posing prophet: he was a mad and foolish being like Francis of Assisi, with a heart as large and a spirit as gentle and pure. In him there was no hatred at all, not of Islam or of Christianity. Truly Indian, not merely in thought but in every criterion of saint-hood, he exemplified the positive and assimilative aspects of Hindu nature, not so much in theoretical teaching but in the heights to which his own devotion to God lifted him in spirit. From him Dyanand drew undoubtedly some of the deeper secrets of Hindu integrity to truth; from him Keshab derived a sense of that deeper principle

[1] b. 1833—d. 1886.

of unity in all religions, deeper than mere syncretism.

The saint founded no religion. But presently an apostle was forthcoming in Vivekananda,[1] to perpetuate the spirit of his master in an "Order" and a "Mission." The sadhus[2] of the Ramakrishna Mutt[3] devote themselves to the study of Indian religion, philosophy and metaphysics. So far, those who have joined are mostly products of the Calcutta University and are already well versed in Western thought. This Mutt is represented in monasteries in different parts of the country. From the Ramakrishna Mutt issues the Ramakrishna Mission, carrying service to many kinds of human suffering and need.

By the time this movement arose, there was in the country very wide and very thorough knowledge of almost all Western culture available in the English language. Chiefly, a knowledge of the life and meaning of Christ was current coin in the land. Also very extensive exploration had been made in Indian lore and now every single day brought new finds and newer light on what was already available. There was no longer any nervousness as regards the extent of dominance which the foreign culture could obtain over India. Confident in its vast wealth and in the solid worth of its intrinsic hypotheses, a Vivekananda could afford to keep his door wide open for all light from any quarter. What his greater master did in the sheer quality of his noble nature,

[1] b. 1862—d. 1902. [2] Monks. [3] 'Order.'

the worthy disciple could continue because of the convictions which his wider learning and world-wide human contacts brought to him. This happy tradition is maintained by the Order in the spirit of the master and in the convictions of the apostle.

The Ramakrishna Movement is to-day the most living as it is the most characteristic expression of Indian nationalism. Truly centred on the Brahma Sutras, the source to which Hindu culture has turned afresh in every generation, faithful also to the interpretation of Sankara, as the ultimate analysis of the Great Hypothesis that is possible to pure human reason, the Ramakrishna Order has still taken a clear step forward in enriching the content of *Karma* Yoga,[1] by reading into it, in

[1] To fully justify this thesis would involve more space than what would be proper to occupy for it in this book. I shall content myself with citing two quotations from *Prabuddha Bharata,* the official organ of the Ramakrishna Movement. In the issue for March 1927 (p. 105) the editor says:

> "The spirit of service which Sri Ramakrishna has brought into the world through his life and teachings is unique. Two things have to be combined to usher in a new era—a world-kindling spiritual enthusiasm and a social upheaval in the form of a passionate desire to sacrifice one's all in the service of the masses. These will sweep away the barriers that now divide mankind and set up a perfection in human fellowship. These are exactly what we have in the life and teachings of Sri Ramakrishna."

In the issue of the same magazine for April 1927 (p. 169) a contributor, writing under the caption "Neo-Hinduism," says:

> "The abnormal growth of science on the one hand and stagnation of religion on the other have resulted in the spread of materialism. . . . But the spiritual instincts of man

addition to selfless Dharma, selfless Service in the most human sense of the term, what indeed we cherish as the distinctive message of Jesus Christ. This is a process of evolution precisely as it should be. That it is taking place so normally, without any fuss or even notice from anyone, is significant of the intrinsic merit of both systems of thought. That Hindu thought is herein immeasurably enriched is a great fact; that Christian thought has yet to find its enrichment in this most wonderful happening, still so unknown to it, is also a fact.

All this is in line with a widely-spread process, which came so unmistakably into evidence in the political crisis of 1919–22. All India seemed to have become suddenly aware of the meaning of the Cross. The supreme point was when Mahatma Gandhi was convicted. The mind and the heart of India reverted instinctively to a similar happening in the court of Pilate two thousand years ago. There was nothing really sudden in all this. It is apiece with a widespread process brought about by a tacit recognition of the values that are in the mind of Christ as the supreme criterion for all human conduct, public and private. It is no acceptance of Christianity; but strictly

cannot be suppressed for long. . . . A profound influence which would give rise to a cult of humanity, more or less loosely connected with the original ideas of the New Testament or the Tripitakas. . . . The goal of human progress is fixed as the social perfection of man. Man's duty is to subordinate his personality to society and to live for others . . . etc."

and literally a recognition of Jesus Christ, as a direct untarnished expression of what is centrally real in man.

This process is so widespread and is so effectively and continuously operative that it must be characterised as a 'movement.' It is a process of selection. In the vast stores of Hindu thought and experience there is practically everything of every grade of value. To these the test of Christ's values is being applied tacitly, even unconsciously. What is deemed up to standard is emphasised, brought into prominence and henceforth secures a lease of vigorous life. What is felt to be not in consonance with the test is allowed to recede and is doomed to a silent grave in convenient oblivion. This readjustment of values and the consequent rearrangement of action is spread over many realms of life, not excluding, strange as it may seem, even the formularies and the rituals of religious observance and organisation. This is a subtle process of national rehabilitation, perhaps possible only to the Hindu people.

CHAPTER III

THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT (*continued*)

(B.) *Rehabilitation of an Ancient Social Fabric.*

NEXT in order of importance, as in time, in the great upheaval of national self-realisation came the Social Reform Movement. The history of it may be set out in three main periods. The earliest was when individuals protested against social rules which appeared unjust in the light of standards newly made available by Western education, broke such rules in their own lives, and were duly punished. Here again the lead came from Bengal. Sasipada Bannerji[1] was of the same age as Keshab Chander Sen, of the same generation as Duff's converts. But, unlike Keshab or the converts, he refused to break with Hindu religion, but demanded Hindu society to reorder itself from within. He was a strange and lone giant, but his long life of persistent service, so fraught with suffering and sacrifice for his fellow men and women, enabled the movement to gradually become real and abiding in the mind and conscience of Bengal. Iswara Chandra Vidyasagar,[2] who was also of the same age, and was equally

[1] b. 1840—d. 1924 [2] b. 1820—d. 1891.

zealous and self-sacrificing in Social Reform, gave to the movement the solid prestige which issued from his being a great scholar and the head of the Sanskrit College. Only a few years younger were Ranade,[1] Malabari,[2] and Narayan Chandavarkar,[3] who played the same rôle in Maharashtra,[4] or rather *from* Maharashtra through the whole of India. From that province arose also the impetus which naturally came even more signally from the work of a Hindu widow for her own fellow-sufferers, Pandita Ramabai Sarasvati.[5] In the south the movement was led with the same fervour and sacrifice by Ragunatha Rao,[6] Viresalingam Pantulu[7] and Mr Natarajan.[8]

Individuals multiplied steadily into groups in every province until the issues could no longer be neglected by society as a whole. The movement entered on its second stage when 'educated' India was divided into two camps, those who would wait within society and reform it by education, and those who felt that social injustice called for immediate remedies even at the cost of disruptions in the social fabric. Meanwhile the process of the educating of public opinion had proceeded very steadily, specially with the annual conferences of the leaders from all the provinces, the publication of magazines and litera-

[1] b. 1842—d. 1901.
[2] b. 1853—d.
[3] b. 1855—d. 1923.
[4] Western India.
[5] b. 1858—d. 1922.
[6] b. 1831—d. 1909.
[7] b. 1848—d.
[8] The editor of the *Indian Social Reformer*.

ture in several Indian languages and in English, the work of the various religious reformers within and on behalf of their own sects and of course by the whole impact of Western culture. Also the platform of social reform had become steadily wider. It had started with demands for justice to womanhood, with all that it implied as regards widows, the age of marriage, female education and temple-girls; it now reached to the very roots of the caste system and demanded justice for and even fellowship between the so-called superior and inferior castes.

The third stage was therefore steadily and as it were imperceptibly reached when Mr Gandhi, in all the simplicity of which he alone is capable, took for granted that there is no longer any such distinction as reformers and anti-reformers, and that the very genius of Hindu culture demands that the social fabric should in every age be readjusted in answer to greater and more penetrating light as it becomes available in the process of time and history. He did not stop to argue but went forward and did and said things which found immediately the widest response. Specially on behalf of the Depressed Classes he has laid down the law. He calls them the "Suppressed" Classes, and so lays the charge straightaway on the conscience of the people. At Sabarmati Ashram he himself sits down to meals with the 'untouchable' boys who are his protégés. Under his leadership caste Hindus in Travancore went cheerfully to prison in an effort to secure

justice and opportunity for the "untouchables."[1] That this affair has happened in an Indian State, should make it finally clear that it is no make-believe drama veiling any ulterior political purpose.

But more than this or that particular line of activity, what is of infinite importance is the unconscious process of readjustment which the Hindu social fabric is undergoing within itself in response to the new leaven from without. This process involves economic and religious adjustments of momentous possibilities and risks, which we shall have to discuss on a later page.[2]

Will India be able to come through this process without selling her soul? The event will depend on the faithfulness of her sons and daughters to the spirit of India and on their ability to discriminate true values among the things which the Western World presses on India for acceptance.

(C.) *The Rebirth of Great Languages.*

These two great movements implied and in their turn demanded an enormous and continuous production of new literature in all the chief languages of India. The political upheaval which we shall presently notice was no less insistent. Currents and cross-currents surged within and

[1] The castes whose touch means contamination which needs to be expiated by religious ceremony. This incident is referred to more fully on p. 146.

[2] *Vide* Chapter VIII.

among all the Indian communities, and between Indians and the British. It is literally true that every single leader of real consequence from Ram Mohan Roy to Mr Gandhi has been a journalist and an author, and many of them found it also necessary to be proprietors of printing-presses.

English is the only possible medium for work on a national scale. But the work done within a language-area was always many times the volume of what was done through English. The Tamilian is possibly the one exception to the general fact that within a language-area the bulk of the new activities was done through the mother-tongue. Even the Tamilian has had to yield finally when nationalism really gripped the proletariat under the lead of Mr Gandhi. In conservative Tamil also there burst out then new strains of poetry in the current language of the masses, which sang themselves into the homes and hearts of all grades of the twenty million Tamils.

But the renaissance of the Indian languages was due not merely to the necessity for conveying the new ideas and for carrying on the new controversies. The wine of the new experience taken as a whole was strong enough to call out a spontaneous production of original literature, without any reference to the didactic or polemical programmes of any of the movements. Poetry and fiction, drama and essay, epic and biography, lyric and rhetoric came to be poured out in sheer consequence of the reawakened literary instincts. The continuous research made into

the ancient mines of literature in the various languages furnished continuous inspiration and a constant renewal of standards. The missionary pioneers laboured to provide in most of the languages many necessary accessories, such as lexicons and grammars in modernised forms. The Press rapidly developed into the most courageous as well as the most efficient of the business enterprises now launched by Indians. The example of Japan was, in this as in so many other matters, a thrilling stimulus. All told, the result is a movement whose strength and magnitude it is impossible to indicate in brief compass.[1]

(D.) *Renaissance of Fine Art.*

While literature had had no really serious break in any of the Indian languages during the pre-

[1] If figures be of any value it may be stated that the total number of periodicals issued in 1925 numbered 690, and books 8507. Of these 218 periodicals and 1996 books were in English; the rest in Indian languages. An analysis of the subjects dealt with in the Books will be of interest:

Accountancy and Banking	9	Industry	38
Agriculture	9	Law	235
Arts (Industrial, etc.)	80	Literary Criticism	26
Biography	263	Medicine	365
Drama	430	Philosophy and Morals	155
Economics	17	Pictures	4
Essays	18	Poetry and Songs	2179
Fiction	928	Politics	244
Folk-tales	5	Religious and Devotional	2442
Geography	175	Science	515
History	342	Sex Problem	8
Social	30		

British periods, Fine Art, which is a more delicate plant and depends so much on wealthy leisure or wealthy patronage, had languished and died in the age which saw the decadence of the Mogul Empire and of the many Principalities to which that Empire had given birth. The 'rebirth' of the languages was a new creation suited to those comminglings of ideas and ideals which characterise present-day conditions in India; the degree and volume of life into which they now burst forth are so great that it is certainly justifiable to describe the process as a 'rebirth.' As regards Fine Art what has happened is even greater: it is really the 'resurrection' of a thing which was dead and wellnigh forgotten. Back to remote ages India was far famed not only for her philosophy and science but also for many kinds of Fine Art. The tradition was maintained in continuous development though wave after wave of foreign invasions rolled into the country. For the invader, though he came to plunder, stayed on to learn, and in that process got assimilated in the ethnic and cultural entity of the country of his adoption. India had wedded Fine Art as every other thing to Religion, *the* supreme vehicle for the expression of her culture. Whoever the foreigner was, he was speedily rather than slowly assimilated, and he in turn found his greatest honour in helping forward the development of Fine Art as of every other aspect of the culture that was now his own heritage. The Mohammedan invader was

the first foreigner with a positive iconoclastic programme, and there was inevitably a break in æsthetic activity in every area where he found stable footing. Long periods had to elapse, varying in length, but nowhere less than a century, before the witchery of India could secure sufficient dominance over the Mohammedan, and even then the art which emerged was a new art, the evolution of the old Hindu art being influenced to a considerable degree by Persian art. But Persian art was itself truly great, and the result was therefore even richer. The Mohammedan rulers and nobles became patrons and even votaries of this new Fine Art in many of its forms. But unhappily this brilliant epoch was comparatively brief. Interstate discords supervened and in the eighteenth century Fine Art was wellnigh wiped out of existence.

Certain saving factors must be stated here for reasons of accuracy as also for a true perspective of values. Firstly, many of the æsthetic activities which are classified as craftsmanship never saw interruption. The delicate textiles in cotton, silk, and silver thread, the metals and the jewels under the tiny chisel of the smith, the ebony and the ivory yielding themselves so whole-heartedly to the file, these and similar wares too numerous to mention were under the patronage of the great middle classes, who saw no real interruption in the ordering of their life. Secondly, no art or craft was disturbed

in South India where the Mohammedan dominance was brief and feeble. Specially architecture, the work in stone, stucco and wood, in which the Dravidians had evolved a school distinct from the North, has continued unabated in its career. Thirdly, one great branch of art no agency from the "three worlds" could possibly repress, and that is music. The Mohammedans themselves fell victims first to this art and were thenceforth happy devotees of her charms. Even in this day of frequent discord, music is one of the few factors of culture which naturally and spontaneously unite the two great communities, in fact all the communities in India; and that music is in uninterrupted flow from the earliest times, the Mohammedan period enriching and mellowing it in many ways.

Remembering these saving factors, it is still no exaggeration to say that art as a factor of national life has found its resurrection in the course of the impact of India with Western culture. When the human soul is filled with an experience which it must express, music, dance, poetry, art, worship—in all their many forms, great and small—are produced in consonance with the values of the soul itself. Of these, art demands much technical preparation. It is a specialised avenue of expression. But all the preparation is well worth the labour when the soul will otherwise remain unskilled and cannot go forward to express itself in spontaneity.

Then there is the counterpart to artistic crea-

tion. The producer is not the only artist; the very much larger number of humbler folk to whom it is not given to create but who can truly appreciate and assimilate the message of the producer, these are also artists. For no one can appreciate the art production of another except in the measure that his own soul has also felt what the producer has striven to express. Nor could any art continue to live or develop except in so far as the work of one is recognised and adopted as their very own by many fellow-souls.

It is such an art-life that is being resurrected in India at the present time. For, after all, we do now have certain great passions and aspirations, certain profound perceptions of truth and human nature and, it should be added, of human tragedy, which we must convey to one another and to the world. Here as in other lines the first efforts at original production were to import Western methods wholesale for presenting Indian subjects. The lead came from Travancore and Poona. This was soon enough resented by Bengal, which made a bold bid for the conventions of the Buddhist period, that golden age of Indian art which inspired so much of all subsequent art in Japan and generally the Far East. This very striking enterprise, expressed as it was, and is, by men of genius, has stimulated a study of old Indian art in its different periods and in the different areas. In Bengal itself there are now two, if not more, schools. In Bombay mural decoration and statuary are being specially studied. More recently

its even course has been happily disturbed by one who is a special student of the masters who painted those wonderful portraits in the Mogul period. This disturbance is naturally much to the good all round. In Andhradesa[1] the gifted young man who made a brilliant start has been cut off prematurely. But the helm of the newly-formed Andhra University is in the hands of one who is cognisant of the value of fostering the spontaneous production of art.

All art is evidence of abounding life: great art makes life to still further abound. The Renaissance of Indian art and music is at the threshold of a glorious future.

(E.) *The Struggle for Economic Freedom.*

India is by nature endowed with conditions which facilitate many forms of agriculture. Her millions have for centuries fitted themselves into that main occupation and into many lines of domestic industry subsidiary to the staple crops. It is their industry and thrift that ever supported the culture of the æsthetic and the intelligentsia and the magnificence of the kingdoms and empires of India. What with famines, pestilences and wars not infrequently taking a heavy toll, with a considerable amount of internal migration, and with a certain amount of emigration, the needs of the country were more than met from her own resources.

[1] The Telugu country on the east coast of South India.

Into this even course there entered new factors. The Western nations which came with such dash and brilliance into the life of India clearly had as their secret of power, wealth and influence, achievement along two lines of activity—economic and military. It dawned more and more upon the consciousness of India that not only for what was deemed 'greatness' in the Western world, but even for recognition, for being taken seriously, a nation needed to be reckoned on the economic and the military counts. Any amount of art, philosophy and 'mere culture' could not secure that recognition. They were all appreciated, doubtless in sincerity and even with enthusiasm: but such appreciation amounted to no more interest in the nation which evinced such wonderful phenomena than that it should be a 'specimen' in a glass case in the general museum or laboratory of the world, protected from destruction or outside interference in the interests of science and humanity! The patronage bestowed on Japan was scarcely more than that; until one fine morning the Western world was rudely awakened to the fact that Japan had not been playing at imitation, but had gone to school to some purpose and was already in a position to give lessons to some of its schoolmasters. Japan was no longer merely 'interesting'; it was a factor to be 'reckoned with' in the modern world.

Of these two secrets the military one is so repugnant to the genius of India, that it has

really secured no practical admittance to her attention; although it must be admitted that off and on it darkens the mind in a strangely disconcerting way. Anyhow that topic is for another page. The other secret, that of economic development, is a different story. It is precisely in line with the best traditions of the country and the trained aptitudes of many classes of her people. With her untold resources of material and her enormous possibilities of labour, she can steadily advance to a position of recognition on any economic criterion. But what has been the effect of the British connection in this matter?

When Britain arrived in India, like the other Western nations, she was about to launch on a career of mass production by machinery. Many of her own internal and external conditions rendered industry more and more indispensable to Britain. In fact, one of the most vigorously industrialising of all the Western peoples had assumed responsibility for India's welfare. India was a mine of raw materials. Her people were happily wedded to agriculture. Her capital was unorganised. Her iron and coal were in the bowels of the hills. In the words of Lord Curzon, India was standing "like some beautiful stranger before her captors, so defenceless, so forlorn."

The extent of the economic connection with Britain need not be recounted in detail. It has been briefly indicated in an earlier chapter.[1] Not thousands but millions have benefited by it,

[1] *Vide* Chapter I. *Vide* also Appendix A.

and the record of it will go down to history as a brilliant achievement. But it was business; and business is not usually judged according to standards of altruism. If the net moral result is that economically India is by now almost inextricably *dependent*, the reasons are perfectly human. British temperament is so essentially 'business-like' that the results of the economic connection could have been otherwise only if the British could have triumphed over themselves. A very careful critic, a British publicist of great authority, refers to "our cool way of capitalising our natural advantages of history and situation and of preaching a similar business-like reasonableness to others less fortunately circumstanced. . . ."[1] Conflict was inevitable, for there were repeated occasions to drive the Indian leaders to wonder if the British Government could act as an Indian Government in this particular line of responsibility. Again and again it was seen that even when Simla fought for Indian interests, as it did occasionally, the India Office and the party in power in Whitehall had to face Lancashire or Dundee and that most powerful factor in the Empire, London Finance. By 1860 the "East India Association" had been established in London to place before the British public this among other Indian problems. Dadhabai Naoroji,[2] who had a leading part in the founding of that organisation, was from then on for fully half a century

[1] *Europe in Convalescence*, p. 183, by Professor A. E. Zimmern.
[2] b. 1825—d. 1917.

devoted to this cause and took practically every opportunity for the purpose—press, platform, interview, testimony before Commissions, and even membership in the House of Commons itself. His close follower was Sir Romesh Chander Dutt,[1] who had had special opportunities to know real conditions from his life career as a civil servant from the lowest rung of the ladder to full Commissionership and thereafter as Minister of Baroda. His work on *The Economic History of India* (1902) is a classic on the subject. In fact, from the date of the First National Congress (1885) this had become a well-recognised movement on a national scale, technically styled "The Swadeshi Movement," and every Indian of any leadership was studying the subject and working for it in diverse ways.

Constant impetus to the 'Swadeshi' Movement was coming from the example of Japan, which was rapidly making up the arrears of centuries in industrial development. In India itself the progressive Feudatory States, Baroda, Mysore and Travancore, were taking direct governmental action in the same line. The European 'nations' which have come into being since 1918 turned their attention first and foremost to an industrial and economic programme such as would ensure their newly-acquired national independence. None of these things are lost on Indian leaders.

The inwardness of this movement cannot be realised by those who imagine that Indian

[1] b. 1848—d. 1909.

nationalism desires no more than a great development of industries in modern style of production. Is it not a fact that India is already one of the eight leading industrial countries in the world, and has in consequence a seat on the governing body of the International Labour Bureau at Geneva ? Is it not also a fact that even if twenty more Manchesters and Chicagos were added to India in the next twenty years, that would not provide for more than say twenty million people, and that for the balance of our vast population, which would at that date still be a fifth of the human race, the great mainstay of life will continue to be Mother Earth, and all those small home industries, subsidiary to Mother Earth's products, which are called for by the simple needs of our people ? As in the other expressions of the national movement, here also India is instinctively struggling to get away really from a condition which threatens her identity. To be economically *dependent* on another is not healthy for any nation on earth ; for a vast people like us to be dependent on a vigorous, masterful and wealthy people like the British is absolute folly. It has ethical bearings which are of supreme importance to the soul of both peoples.

It is not to be understood that India is seeking a separation. The boat on which this is being written, the *P. C. Hooft*, is the largest in the whole fleet of the Netherlands Mail Boat Company ; and it was built entirely by the French. America orders many things of England. There is nothing

dishonourable in economic relationship or even in close-knit economic co-operation. Friends and equals can bind themselves for mutual help almost to any extent. To grasp this idea is to understand something of the *khaddar*[1] ideal in the work of Mr Gandhi.

Moreover there is the elementary problem of finding livelihood for our steadily increasing population, and outlets for our capital, which is becoming every day more fluid. Emigration has proved to be no solution for the former. The latter cannot perpetually play the rôle of ancillary to grand enterprises controlled from abroad.

(F.) *The Political Upheaval.*

As one part of such a comprehensive movement arose the political upheaval. No part of the National Movement can be understood aright excepting as part of the great whole. The causes are the same, whether fundamental or immediate. It is the same people, one may even say the same individuals, who lead in the expression of the new ferment in these different lines—religion, literature, art, economics and politics. But we shall have to pursue the political aspect in a chapter by itself.

[1] Literally 'hand-spun hand-woven cloth.' The term stands for the whole movement which is popularising khaddar cloth.

CHAPTER IV

THE POLITICAL UPHEAVAL

THE central truth which must be well and truly realised is that the entire National Movement in India, including the political aspect of it, is directly due to that pervasive and penetrating impact of Western culture with Indian culture for which the British connection is mainly responsible. The peculiar character and history of the various aspects of the movement are due to the character of each of these peoples, to the struggle toward adaptation and adjustment, and toward expression of the results in new forms and categories. The wisest of the British statesmen had foreseen the political aspect of it: the best of them had rejoiced in such a forecast. But there was no design, no artificial attempt to force or guide any such development. Happily, the evolution has been happening at that cost which alone can make it natural and valuable.

The history of the political movement has been recounted time and again. Any standard book on India furnishes the facts. The inward meaning of it as a vital part of a vast, living, human phenomenon may be interpreted here in brief compass.

THE POLITICAL UPHEAVAL

I

When in 1858 the rapid spread of modern education called for the establishment of the first universities, the National Movement had already started in strength and power. The Brahma Samaj was firmly established in Bengal, and symbolised the religious ferment in every other province. Vidyasagar had already helped to place the Widow Remarriage Act in the Statute Book, indicating the rising tide of social justice in the heart of new India. Madhu Sudhan Datta,[1] himself an erratic by-product of the tumultuous age, had begun to sing; Bankim Chander Chatterjee[2] was writing a few years later. While Bengal was in this way giving the lead in the less tangible and deeper planes of national reawakening, there was coming from the other provinces evidence after evidence to show what new India could do in the matter of administration and statesmanship. As administrators of large spheres of responsibility Sir Sayyad Ahmed Khan[3] in Hindustan[4] and Sir T. Madhava Rao[5] in Travancore were both facing problems of tremendous complexity, calling for all that true statesmanship implies and not merely the statecraft of opportunism. In their grasp of the values of the present, in their discernment of the future, in the initiative

[1] b. 1824—d. 1873.
[2] b. 1838—d. 1894.
[3] b. 1817—d. 1898.
[4] The area between the Punjab and Bengal.
[5] b. 1828—d. 1891.

and executive ability with which they mastered resources, in the winsomeness and withal the firmness with which they carried every one with whom they came into touch, the careers of these men will well repay study in every age and country. To this same age—the pre-university period—belongs also Dewan Rangacharlu,[1] to whom the entire kingdom of Mysore is grateful for setting the standards and starting those things which have made her in many ways the most progressive state in India.

Direct political action was begun by Ram Mohan Roy himself, who so richly deserves the appellation 'Father of Modern India.' He found it necessary in 1823 to organise a public protest in regard to the freedom of the Press. In that connection he said:

> In common with those who seem partial to the British Rule from the expectation of future benefits arising out of the connection, I necessarily feel extremely grieved in often witnessing Acts and Regulations passed by Government without consulting or seeming to understand the feelings of its Indian subjects, and without considering that this people have had for more than half a century the advantage of being ruled by and associated with an enlightened nation, advocates of liberty and promoters of knowledge.

That was no isolated instance either, and in 1830, when he went to England, one of the chief reasons was to secure better opportunities for India in

[1] b. 1831—d. 1883.

the Charter of the East India Company, the renewal of which was then impending. In 1855 Dadhabai Naoroji [1] had founded 'The East India Association' in London for the explicit purpose of ventilating Indian aspirations before the British public, and he had definitely started the campaign for securing "simultaneous examinations for the I.C.S." [2] All this had already happened when the universities were established.

There could be no mistake about the teaching of the new age ushered in by the universities. It said in effect: 'Democracy is the very essence of Britain's history. Democracy is the axiomatic principle on which the new Anglo-Saxon nations are developing. Every step taken by any nation in that direction is to be held up to admiration. Democracy is in line with those fundamental principles of human personality which religion and philosophy have been alike reinforcing in justification of history.' In contrast with such a tacit teaching in the universities the governance of India was by the method of a highly organised bureaucracy, where experts thought out problems, experts worked out projects, and experts carried them out in perfectly unimaginative benevolence.

[1] b. 1825—d. 1917.

[2] Indian Civil Service.

II

The period between 1858, the year of the universities, and 1885, the year of the First Indian National Congress, was to India a truly momentous epoch. Keshab moved the Brahma Samaj forward to greater reforms and carried the brilliant messages of an Indian religious experience to England. Dyanand emerged from Mathura and travelled like a flaming torch of light and life from city to city and from province to province. Ramakrishna found his peace after "a storm of twelve years," and was passing through all those profound experiences which expressed themselves in quiet and unostentatious ways, but of the most far-reaching and penetrating influence. As the period closed he had just passed on his mantle to Vivekananda. This was also the period of the first flood of Indians into all the professions—law, medicine, engineering, and, most of all, administrative services—everywhere proving to the British and to their fellow-countrymen that India had lost none of her ancient possibilities, that given suitable preparation and opportunity her sons could acquit themselves in every sphere of responsibility as competently as the British. But 1858 was also the year when the Crown had assumed direct charge of India. The period which followed saw a steady spread of the official administrative machinery to cover inch by inch, ever deeper and ever wider, almost the entire secular

life of the people. In other words, on the one hand while the real life of the people was being revitalised deeper and more poignantly within, the framework of external life was all the time being enmeshed in a foreign-controlled system, which was impersonal and soulless, and whose votaries apparently worshipped at the one shrine of efficiency.

It ought to be impressed on the attention of every student of modern India that in 1881, four years before the first Congress, Dewan Rangacharlu had established the Representative Assembly for the Mysore State. It was not a "Legislative Council," but a popular machinery devised deliberately to bring the masses into co-operation with the administrative machinery. Rangacharlu had started life as a clerk, and in his long career from stage to stage until he came to be in charge of one of the premier 'States' of India, a state as large as England, he had kept his heart fresh and unshrivelled up by the dry heat of bureaucracy. When Providence brought to his hands the destinies of a whole kingdom, is it not of significance that he went outside the whole range of constitutional tradition in India and Britain to invent a method for bringing the people themselves into some real contact with the ever-stiffening machinery of Government?

Needless to say that in wide British India the 'contact' was developing into a conflict. The principles reasserted by Britain every time the

Charter was renewed, and again most solemnly set forth in Queen Victoria's Proclamation, left nothing to be desired. In the carrying out of those principles the attitude of the administration was, to quote the formula used at that time "to found British greatness in Indian happiness." Only there is more than one method of going about it. The Viceroyalty of Ripon, which happened at the close of this period, did indeed show that there were elements on the British side sincerely desirous of adopting the only method that is psychologically right and ethically righteous: but taken as a whole it was equally clear that the element of dominance in the 'Services' was that which played the evil genius to the Viceroyalty of Lytton.

But can a bureaucracy ever be a training agency for the practice of Democracy? And can a 'business' community furnish a favourable atmosphere, when, as the Ilbert Bill agitation revealed the ugly fact, it was all the time nervously grasping a position of vantage amounting to monopoly, for which 'prestige' on the one side and political subordination on the other side are the surest insurance.

Vain thought! India was well on in a blind alley and the National Congress was an inevitable necessity. So it was conceived by the original promoters of it; as also by Lord Dufferin the Viceroy, by Lord Reay the Governor of Bombay, in whose province the First Congress was held; so also clearly by Lord Lansdowne, the Viceroy

who forbade Government servants from participating in its deliberations. As for the Congress itself, its attitude was rightly voiced in their presidential addresses,[1] by W. C. Bonnerjee[2] and by Dadhabai Naoroji, the two who had as much to do with its inception as Hume and Wedderburn.

III

From 1885, the year of the First Congress, to 1907, the year of the Partition of Bengal, the political movement was in a well-defined stage of development. With the Congress as a national

[1] Dadhabai Naoroji said: "Is this Congress a nursery for sedition and rebellion against the British Government; or is it another stone in the foundation of the stability of that government? There could be but one answer, and that you have already given, because we are thoroughly sensible of the numberless blessings conferred upon us, of which the very existence of this Congress is a proof in a nutshell. Were it not for these blessings of British rule I could not have come here to-day, as I have done, without the least hesitation and without the least fear that my children might be robbed and killed in my absence; nor could you have come from every corner of the land, having performed, within a few days, journeys which in former days would have occupied months. These simple facts bring home to all of us at once some of the great and numberless blessings which British rule has conferred upon us. But there remain even greater blessings, for which we have to be grateful. It is to British rule that we owe the education we possess; the people of England were sincere in the declaration made more than half a century ago that India was a sacred charge entrusted to their care by Providence, and that they were bound to administer it for the good of India, to the glory of their own name, and the satisfaction of God."

[2] b. 1844—d. 1906.

platform and also as the pivot for many forms of national activities, the leading men of India steadfastly worked to readjust the situation. Much study and work, much struggle and sacrifice were called forth. The environment in which they worked ought to be brought back to the mind. Religious reform was now getting settled on a broadening basis, the great 'founders' had all left the stage of this world, but their messages were being applied over wide areas of life in many constructive ways. From Oxford, Max Müller was issuing a continuous stream of the richest treasures from the past, culled by many a faithful and heroic lover of India. Paul Deussen had published his monumental work on *The Upanishads*, signifying the place that India had already taken in the universities of Europe. Vivekananda's brilliant presentation at the World's Exposition at Chicago had an effect on the imagination of the whole nation comparable in a measure to the effect of Japan's victory over Russia. On his return home his tour through India was like the triumphal progress of a returning conqueror who had successfully planted the banner of India's message to the world in an ecumenical assemblage of Western culture. The Social Reform Movement was now in its second stage, well recognised on a national scale, with Justice Ranade leading it in that greatness of thought, at once solid and brilliant, of which his nobility of nature and capacity for hard work made him so eminently capable. The Literary Renaissance

was now in full swing in many parts of the land. Bankim Babu[1] had by now nurtured Bengali into a 'modern language,' and it had blossomed with the zeal characteristic of that race in profuse luxuriance, and was preparing for that fruition which was to come out presently in the marvellous lays of Rabindranath Tagore. The martial language of Maharashtra, which had indeed never known interruption of its literature, was now being wielded once more to good purpose, not polemical only, but to the many other uses which comprised the interest of a Ranade, a Telang and a Tilak. Telugu, 'the Italian of the East,' was by now once more in full song under the lead of Viresalingam Pantulu. Even proud Tamil—so traditionally suspicious of foreign influence, so zealous in guarding the purity of her entity and through it the distinctive culture which she has worked out for herself through twenty centuries—even Tamil was beginning to yield. Sundram Pillai had by now composed *The Manonmaniyam*, and Sambandam Mudaliyar had started on his noble career of purifying the stage and making it once more an avenue of ethical instruction and uplift. Research into Tamil lore had set in strongly, destined to enthral so many brilliant minds in the next generation. The Captains of Industry were beginning to arrive, so far in ones and twos; but the economic issues were already in full force in the atmosphere, not in Bombay only but in every province, and had brought about

[1] Bankim Chander Chatterjee.

the appointment of the Welby Commission (1896) and the Currency Committee (1898) for first-hand inquiries. The number of Indians proving to be able administrators of great responsibilities in the Indian States[1] was continually on the increase. In Mysore, Rangacharlu was succeeded by Sir K. Seshadri[2]; it is difficult to say which was the greater. Everywhere in Mysore State there is abundant evidence of the master touch of Seshadri. If Rangacharlu was a pioneer in the spiritual realm of politics, Seshadri was a pioneer no less in the discovery of the means which make for rendering a people enthusiastic for the upbuilding of their Motherland. One of these secrets was in the providing of suitable means, sometimes the best means which can be found in any quarter of the world, for the technical and general equipment of the sons of Mysore. Another secret, its concomitant, was to take every measure possible to develop the material resources of the State. Years before the British Government had even thought of investigating the power implicit in the great waters of India, Mysore had tapped the Kaveri River and was working its gold mines and also lighting two great cities from the electricity derived from the Sivasamudram Falls. Baroda, Travancore and Cochin are all the time emulating Mysore. If they keep up the tradition of progressive development with such signal success it is because their rulers have been wise

[1] Called also 'Native States,' or 'Indian Feudatory States.'
[2] 1845-1901.

in selecting capable Indian administrators to the responsibilities of Dewanship, and entrusting them with a plenitude of opportunities. The careers of these statesmen are watched with keen interest by educated India in every province. Their successes enter into the common asset and go to swell the common prestige.

In an atmosphere such as this, as part and parcel of it, the political problems were being handled in that period. Every Christmas the more zealous men came together from all parts of the land to assemble in a National Congress. To the British official in India the Congress was a mere "talk shop," useful in providing "a safety-valve to let off steam in vapid resolutions." To the British merchant, planter, and military officer it was worse; there lurked somewhere within it dangerous sedition; at all events it was noxious and offensive. An attitude such as this was unfortunately developing, and not that confiding, respectful solicitude which characterised Dufferin and Reay and some of their immediate successors as Viceroys and Governors. Two things British people in India failed to realise. The political upheaval was apiece with the whole National Movement, which embraced in rapidly increasing measure the vast masses as well as the 'educated' thousands. The other point was that the *literati* have held the traditionally accepted leadership of India, all through the centuries. Not by direct literacy but by the moral influence of the literate minority, India has been ever willing to be led in religious and social

matters, and now in all other matters as well. The men who assembled at the annual Congress were only thousands in number, but each single one of them through the social avenues peculiar to India represented many hundreds and through them many more thousands. The determined self-illusion of the Services in this particular was really very tragic in regard to the great interests involved.

To us Indians the National Congress has meant a great reality. Its 'Resolutions' may have had no apparent effect on the Government: what of it? The Congress assembly was a visible symbol of our national entity, of our common heritage, of our common grievances, of our common aspirations, hopes and ideals, of our great common goal. The Congress was in itself a gesture, an earnest of the progressive consummation of our national solidarity. The Congress was the point where, year by year, the diverse interests and attitudes met together, where parochialism saw things in truer perspective, where the real injuries were lifted from local to national importance, where sympathies were widened, ennobling friendships formed, angularities rubbed off and, generally, personality mellowed and enriched. The Congress was a national platform which levelled up standards of public service and leadership. In the discovery of the continuous roll of first-class merit coming up every year, the Congress established firmly the faith that India will arrive at her destiny in due time. I have spoken as I know,

for it was the period of my life when I was at college, as student and as teacher, in mid-current. Moreover, like most college men, I was a villager, with the rural atmosphere a real and effective part of my personal environment. But all this was unfortunately entirely outside the perception of the Britisher in the country.

Christmas after Christmas the Congress assembled to gather up and present the political problems of the country. From the Congress the leaders did not go home to rest on their oars for the next twelve months. The Congress, had quickly given birth to Provincial Conferences, and these in their turn to District Conferences. Moreover, the Congress organisation, flimsy as it looked on paper, was powerful enough at a moment's notice to organise the voicing of public opinion throughout the country when any occasion of real grievance or danger arose in any locality. It was also powerful enough to send deputations to Britain when the situation was unusually critical. In fact, the Congress had a Committee in London all the time working on its behalf in Britain. The lines of political work were many and their points were rich and diverse; the most impressive to the imagination at the time was the election of Dadhabai Naoroji to the House of Commons by a London constituency.

Next to the Congress as an effective means of political action and education in this period was the Indian-edited Press. As has been said before, practically every Indian leader, whether religious,

social, literary, or political, has had to engage in journalism. This period saw the growth of Indian journalism into a powerful medium of action, destined eventually to outstrip even the Congress in its power.

Another opportunity was also happily forthcoming, only miserably tardy in its arrival. In 1892 elected members were first admitted in the Legislative Councils. And that opportunity, microscopic as it was in quantity, was immediately availed of to the fullest degree in quality. Looking back to-day on the record of that period it seems almost incomprehensible how our Bannerjeas,[1] Sinhas,[2] Mehtas,[3] and Gokhales[4] found in such an arena sufficient opportunity to make those marvellous contributions which they did. Particularly Gokhale demonstrated, to the despair of the Powers that were, that the real downright study of a private Indian citizen can overmatch the efficiency of the experts of the Imperial Secretariat, and that when the results of such study are based on high principles of statesmanship and are presented with ability and wisdom, a minority of numbers is no handicap, and that even the 'sun-dried hide of the bureaucrat' becomes pervious to such an impact. The success of his career made it abundantly clear that in the

[1] Afterwards Sir Surendranath Bannerjea and first Chief Minister of Bengal under the Reforms.

[2] Afterwards Lord Sinha, and first Indian Governor of a Province.

[3] Sir Pherozshah Mehta.

[4] Gopala Krishna Gokhale.

unequal fight with a trained and efficient bureaucracy India cannot afford to be led by amateurs, men busy in their own professions, who could only in spare time turn to a study of the details of public questions. Every one cannot be a Ranade, whose capacity and versatility were unusual for any country. The wonder indeed was that so many leaders were forthcoming who could approach Ranade so closely as they did. But that could not be risked any longer. And so two organisations were born in this period, the Ranade Economic Institute and the Servants of India Society, the great legacy of Gokhale to his countrymen.

Amid all this the wheels of the administration of India were moving in their predestined precision as unerringly as the constellations in the sky. Still, as in Nature, in the fullness of time a comet arrived, brilliant and covering the entire sky from horizon to horizon, like Halley's great one. That was George Nathaniel Curzon, whose eager spirit and ample personality made themselves felt in every line of life in India. Future history will declare that Curzon was a great benefactor, a most timely dispensation for the uplift of India—on two counts. First, a force was needed powerful enough to dig up administrative routine from the depths of the groove into which its very efficiency had driven it down. When Curzon took the helm the whole ship of State felt the throb in every wheel and crank thereof. Secondly, here came a masterful

man, with a dominant sense of mission for India, and determined to effect it in the only possible way he knew with 'an inferior people'—by "doing for them since they cannot do for themselves." He frankly shared his countrymen's faith in the "White Man's Burden." Without him the machinery would have gone on tolerating in good-natured indulgence the educated Indian who was "trying to play at politics." In Curzon there was one who not only believed in the superiority of the white man but intended to act up to that creed, in the best interests, as he conceived, of India. Efficiency first and efficiency last; in the course of a hundred things he did for efficiency's sake Curzon decreed the Partition of Bengal, the false key which immediately threw the whole nation into a state of tremendous discord, not to be rectified for years to come.

IV

With the Partition of Bengal (1907), the political movement enters on a new stage of its history, another well-defined epoch which terminated with the outbreak of the Great War in 1914. To interpret some of its characteristics, we must go back slightly to recount certain forces which were already in incipient demonstration.

To those who have followed carefully the analysis of the National Movement set forth hereto, it will be clear that there came a stage when both the religious and social aspects of it paused in their

course, as it were, to become calmer and more broad-based in their foundations. The causes for this were the closer knowledge of Western values and a wider and deeper estimate of Indian culture. Another cause certainly was the innate conservatism so natural to men anywhere, specially to those of an ancient race. It should not be surprising then that gradually there emerged from the educated community a school of people whose conservatism was decisive, who repudiated everything Western and considered all reforms as a betrayal of India. Such a party had been taking shape for some time, specially in Western India, under the leadership of Bal Gangadhar Tilak,[1] a man of very great ability and ripe scholarship, one who was willing to undergo the utmost personal suffering for the Motherland. In politics this party was for an uncompromising attitude toward the Government. A similar party was also forming in Bengal at the same time, precipitated into definite shape by the anti-Partition feeling. Both movements, though each was unconnected with the other, had intimate relationship with religious reaction. In Bengal it was identified with the Kali Cult. In Maharashtra the genius of Tilak had instituted a wholly new cult associated with Sivaji, the great national hero who had forged the Mahrattas into a nation and built on it a kingdom of no mean power in the reign of Aurungzebe.

Strange as it may seem to the European reader,

[1] b. 1856—d. 1920.

the plague, and the methods adopted by the State to battle with it, added to the strength of the forces of conservatism and resentment. Plague first appeared in 1896. By 1907 the mortality due to it had risen to 5,250,000, in an area less than half of India. The people were greatly depressed by it; and the Health Departments of the Government in their great anxiety to take drastic measures for relief and prevention, were not careful enough in regard to the extreme sanctity which the Hindu attaches to his home. Much was done in the nervousness of those days which the greater scientific experience of the next decade condemned as futile. But the mischief was done, and popular resentment at some of the ruthless methods of the underlings of the Departments gave rise to considerable feeling and even disturbances.

When the Partition of Bengal was announced in 1907 there was therefore a considerable amount of inflammable material in different parts of India, more particularly in Bengal and Maharashtra. The unity which hitherto characterised the political movement, from 1885 onwards, was definitely breached. There were various happenings indicating that the party of reaction, now beginning to be called the Extremists, was gathering strength. Things came to a head at the National Congress of that year (1907), when the Extremists made a definite and violent bid to capture the Congress. That they were still a minority in the nation was made amply evident by the action of the Congress, which proceeded

forthwith to formulate a constitution, the first article of which (henceforth called its 'creed') laid down "that self-government within the Empire was the goal of the Congress, and that it was to be attained by purely constitutional means." Nevertheless it was obvious that there had arisen in the country a party, or rather different schools of thought still unorganised into a party, to whom the method of constitutional agitation and protest hitherto used was no longer satisfactory. It cannot be stated that any responsible leaders of these 'schools of thought' in Bengal and Maharashtra had deliberately considered and sanctioned methods of conspiracy and assassination. No such fact was proved in the courts. But the fact remains that for the first time violence came to be a political method; and these crimes of ill-witted youths whose reason had been beclouded by misguided patriotism unfortunately redounded to the discredit of nationalism as a whole.

Happily, Minto had succeeded Curzon, and more than he, there was a statesman at the India Office, John Morley. They applied repressive measures with firmness to restore order and security; but they saw very clearly that such repression could not remedy, much less reach down to the root causes of the trouble. They sensed the fact that the unlimited confidence in the British rule, which had been the secret of its strength hitherto, was now seriously shaken, and that the causes were not far to seek. Morley,

presenting the Indian Budget to the House of Commons in June 1907, set forth very clearly one of those reasons:

For this unrest in the Punjab and Bengal sooner or later—and sooner, rather than later, I hope—will pass away. What is the situation of India generally in the view of these experienced officers at this moment? Even now when we are passing through all the stress and anxiety, it is a mistake not to look at things rather largely. They all admit that there is a fall in the influence of European officers over the population. They all, or nearly all, admit that there is estrangement—I ought to say, perhaps, refrigeration—between officers and people. There is less sympathy between the Government and the people. For the last few years—and this is a very important point—the doctrine of administrative efficiency has been pressed too hard. The wheels of the huge machine have been driven too fast. Our administration—so shrewd observers and very experienced observers assure me—would be a great deal more popular if it was a trifle less efficient, a trifle more elastic generally. We ought not to put mechanical efficiency at the head of our ideas.

Four months later, in justification of his action in appointing Indians on the Secretary of State's Council, he spoke to his constituency thus:

The root of the unrest, discontent, and sedition, so far as I can make out after constant communication with those who have better chances of knowing the problem at first hand than I could have had—the root of the matter is racial and social not political. That being so, it is of a kind that is the very hardest to reach. You can reach political sentiment. This goes deeper. Racial dislike is a dislike not of political domination, but of

racial domination; and my object in making that conspicuous change in the constitution of the Council of India which advises the Secretary of State for India, was to do something, and if rightly understood and interpreted to do a great deal, to teach all English officers and governors in India, from the youngest Competitionwallah who arrives there, that in the eyes of the ruling Government at home, the Indian is perfectly worthy of a place, be it small or great, in the counsels of those who make and carry on the laws and the administration of the community to which he belongs. We stand by this position not in words alone; we have shown it in act and shall show it further.

In the July of the next year (1908) he spoke plainly at the I.C.S. dinner:

Our first duty—the first duty of any Government—is to keep order. But just remember this. It would be idle to deny, and I am not sure that any of you gentlemen would deny, that there is at this moment, and there has been for some little time past, and very likely there will be for some time to come, a living movement in the mind of the peoples for whom you are responsible. A living movement, and a movement for what? A movement for objects which we ourselves have all taught them to think desirable objects. And unless we somehow or other can reconcile order with satisfaction of those ideas and aspirations, gentlemen, the fault will not be theirs. It will be ours. It will mark the breakdown of what has never yet broken down in any part of the world—the breakdown of British statesmanship.

Morley certainly saw deeper than most people of his time; and he had in Minto and fortunately in Baker, the Governor of Bengal, and some other officials in India, men equally clear in their

perception of things. They were determined to make a constitutional advance such as would satisfy India. It required no small degree of courage to persist in this determination. For the Partition of Bengal had aroused wide discontent, and, apart from anarchical crime and clearly unconnected with it, an immense volume of agitation throughout the land. Moreover, there was now a new weapon in the hands of the nationalists, the boycott of foreign cloth—the 'Swadeshi vow' and its observance. Whatever the effect of this on British manufacture may have been, it was a potent means of extending the political movement to the masses. It showed also very clearly that the stage had been reached when India was awakening to the fact of her industrial dependence on Britain, and was beginning to resent it. These points were not lost on the British people in India or generally on the people in Britain. It is doubtful if a man less strong than Morley, or, perhaps it should be said, a combination less strong than Morley in Britain and Minto in India, could have achieved what was, as events proved, the one single course dictated by true statesmanship. Morley had to tell the House of Lords (December 1908) some very plain truths. After referring to good-will as "after all the real foundation of our prosperity and strength in India," and stating his faith that "this admission of the Indians to a larger and more direct share in the government of their country and in all the affairs of their country will fortify

the foundations of our position," he went on to say :

Military strength, material strength, we have in abundance. What we still want to acquire is moral strength—moral strength in guiding and controlling the people of India in the course on which time is launching them. I should like to read a few lines from a great orator about India. It was a speech delivered by Mr Bright in 1858, when the Government of India Bill was in another place. Mr Bright said :

"We do not know how to leave India, and therefore let us see if we know how to govern it."

The Morley-Minto Reforms, as they came to be styled, were a great advance on the existing state of affairs. Indians were appointed in the executive cabinets of the local governors, the Viceroy and also the Secretary of State. This move, substantial in itself, was interpreted as very meaningful by Morley himself, as we saw above. The Legislative Councils were all enlarged and elective seats assigned to the people. In the Provincial Councils no provision was made for official majorities ; in the Imperial Council alone this was retained. Moreover, financial matters were permitted to be discussed. These Reforms were hailed with handsome appreciation by the Congress which met that Christmas (1908) at Madras, and by the Moslem Conference at Amritsar.

Morley had cause to be immensely pleased. The Reforms were no doubt welcomed but as an instalment (a generous instalment, un-

doubtedly, at that stage) in the march toward democracy, on which by now India was definitely determined. But, more than the particulars of the Reforms, the sincerity, the understanding, and the courage with which they had been conceived, persisted in, and finally accomplished, made a very deep impression. It took away immediately the edge from the soreness regarding the Partition of Bengal—even though that did not cease to be a live issue. The leaders went forward to take the fullest possible advantage of the further share of responsibilities to which they were in this manner invited.

This period then, 1907 to 1914, was one of steady constructive work in many directions. It is a period that Indian history will always associate with the name of Gopala Krishna Gokhale.[1] He had already more than the usual record of public service to his credit; had founded the Servants of India Society in 1905 and was now the recognised leader of the whole country. The activities of the Extremist section were for the time being in eclipse. Specially was this so because a great man had come into the Viceregal office, Lord Hardinge, whom India will ever cherish with love and gratitude, along with Bentinck, Canning and Ripon. Hardinge had a heart as great as his courage and ability. Within a few months of his arrival he had set right the perplexing problem involved in the Partition of Bengal: but even that was only an incident in the general trend of events

[1] b. 1866—d. 1915.

which now characterised Viceregal action. Gokhale therefore had the most favourable conditions for his task, unfortunately the last chapter of his brilliant service to his Motherland.

Four main questions occupied the mind of Gokhale during this period, and they will best summarise the content of the political movement in the country as a whole. They were: (1) Primary education; (2) District administration; (3) Public finance; and (4) Indians overseas.

(1) The impetus given since Ripon's time to private enterprise in education had borne abundant fruit in the twenty-five intervening years, and the enrolment in the colleges in 1907 was 23,889.[1] Curzon's educational policy was directed towards the much-needed reform of the universities and their affiliated colleges. There was every prospect in the future of steady development in all higher education, general and technical. But the situation in the education of the country taken as a whole was ridiculously anomalous—apparently no limit to the increase of the weight on the top and no serious attention to the condition of the base. That year (1907) the enrolment of boys in the Primary Schools was 3,774,000, which was about a fifth of the male population of school-going age. The resulting situation was becoming intolerable. Viewed from every point, economic, social, or political, the most

[1] Arts colleges . . . 18,001 Engineering colleges . 1243
Law colleges . . . 2,898 Agricultural colleges . 205
Medical colleges . . 1,542
Total—23,889

urgent need of the whole country was the education of the masses. Already an artificial condition had been developed where India proper—the producers, the workers, the masters-to-be of India—was every day coming to be more and more at the mercy of the few who happened to secure a wholly literary type of education, through a foreign language, and often enough those who started on such and failed to get it! With the population increasing at the rate of millions[1] per decade, no nation on earth could overtake the problem of the education of the masses unless drastic steps were taken without a day's delay. Gokhale advocated free and compulsory education on the widest possible scale. The enthusiastic support of educated India showed that Gokhale was voicing the feeling of the whole National Movement in that stage.

(2) The inwardness of this was larger and greater than is apparent on the surface. To get a grasp of it one must recount another line of development for which also India was indebted to Ripon. It was he who gave a real start to local self-government in the country; and in the twenty-five years that followed, most of the districts in India were placed under District Boards in regard to health, education and means of communication, and about seven hundred cities were given Municipal Councils to manage much of

[1] Increases (net): 1891–1901=7,046,385; 1901–11=20,795,340; 1911–21=3,786,084.

their own affairs. These were excellent outlets for the patriotic energies of educated Indians. Many thousands of them went into these Boards and Councils, willing to shoulder the burdens involved. Like Gokhale and Bannerjea, practically all who pretended to any share in the National Movement were taking a share in the responsibilities of 'local self-government.' But the general experience in that sphere was sadly disappointing. This may be taken as the personal testimony of the present writer's experiences in that period. In his own duties the British civilian was efficiency itself, and not at all unusually his heart came out, though perhaps in a characteristically awkward way, in response to the needs of the rural people. But, frankly speaking, he had not the faintest notion of his real opportunities in the District Board or the Municipal Council. In that period the District Boards had the collector of the district as chairman, *ex officio*. The membership of the Board was made up entirely by the nomination of leading landlords, well-to-do merchants, and successful lawyers, with of course the district heads of the various departments which came within the jurisdiction of the Board — education, health, communications, etc. But the collector seldom realised that the Board was to discharge these functions. To him they were *his* responsibilities and their discharge did not call for any real difference from those other duties—revenue, judicial, prisons, etc.—which also fell on his

shoulders. The only difference apparently was that whereas the latter were attended to in his own office or tent with the head of the relevant department whenever needed at his elbow, the former duties had to be performed in the presence of a group of people supposed to be interested in watching the spectacle. During the six years of my membership in a District Board, presided over by an efficient and genuinely sympathetic but thoroughly British civilian, in all the many meetings which took place month by month, I knew no occasion when anything but English was used, although not a word of it was known to three-quarters of the members, all of whom had been nominated to membership by that very President. On one rare occasion a private member moved a proposition; which was duly 'referred' to the administrative department concerned and the reply read out at a subsequent meeting without any concern as to whether the member interested was even present. I do not remember a single dissentient vote at any meeting. The absolute placidity of the meetings month after month was just once disturbed by debate,[1] a phenomenon that seemed almost unseemly because so utterly unusual.

The Municipal Council was the only other opportunity for the collector to do anything in

[1] The debate was unavoidable, for a deliberate attempt was being made by a railway company to get indirect control of the District Board's ewe lamb of a projected thirty-two-mile railway, by insisting that a sterling loan be issued in London instead of a rupee loan in India!

a direct way to train India in the democratic method. And it was a real opportunity. For quite a number of seats were elective, the chairmanship itself was usually elective, and among the educated citizens there was an excellent tradition of public service. But the collector was as distant from the Municipal Council as he could possibly keep. So long as nothing was done which was legally wrong or seriously scandalous the Council might as well have been in Central Africa. By no manner of imagination could one describe his attitude as that of even a sympathetic observer. It was rather that of one who felt on his conscience all the time personal moral responsibility for a set of duties which were for the time deputed to a set of amateurs to learn their lessons at civic administration as best they could. "Their efforts, so palpably inefficient, have got to be indulged. The more the pity."

The example set before them in his own method of handling the District Board was absolutely wrong. It was autocracy pure and simple. That he did not interfere with the Municipal Council was far better than if in excessive zeal he had felt it necessary to do so. Meanwhile, the democratic method, that delicate art which needs so much of wisdom and patience, which can be learnt only in a sportsmanlike attitude toward fellow-men, and then only in a long process of discipline, which in fact is not yet in perfect practice anywhere in the world, was unknowable to the rank and file of educated India. It was not, it *is* not,

known to the rank and file of the members of the Civil Service.

The political movement was conscious of this. Not that every leader was conscious of the situation in any definite clearness. But two things were certainly felt—one the isolation of the Service from the only materials for the building up of a democratic basis, and the other, that the further reform of the machinery of local self-government was urgently called for. Gokhale was really voicing the unuttered feelings of the whole movement when he pressed for the creation of District Advisory Councils, even though Gokhale's contemporaries did not all comprehend the inwardness of his action. His scheme was analogous to what Dewan Rangacharlu had devised for Mysore as early as 1881. If the suggestion had been adopted, a bridge, as it were, would have been thrown across the widening chasm between the Service and the educated, whom circumstances were bringing ever closer to the masses. Viewed conjointly with the plea for a rapid education of the masses, it will be seen how the political movement was concerned in this period with the necessity for losing no more time in bringing the rural population, the real India, into the centre of the streams of life and service in the country. Conditions have already changed enormously and no such additional wheel to the machinery may now be advantageous. But Gokhale's unerring discernment, based on wide observation and experience, went

straight to a point in which a serious political disability was centred at that time.

(3) These and other nation-building activities cost funds, whereas Government was apparently committed to a programme which had driven the Budget to steady expansion for ten successive years, and in 1909, a perfectly normal year, without any famine, plague, war, or similar abnormal call on the purse, Government had been compelled to levy fresh taxation. The Finance Minister of the Indian Empire is one of the Titans of the earth. The vastness and complexity of his proposals and the infinity of resources he could summon to sustain his theses, render his position unassailable to ordinary mortals. In facing this formidable Minister, Gokhale was like tiny David before the giant Goliath. It was his sheer hard work in mastering facts and figures, his penetrating intelligence in discerning principles underlying policies, and his masterly statesmanship in deploying vast data in unassailable presentation, that made an impression even on that adamant citadel. At long last, after three years of consecutive attack, his principles did come to be accepted, scientific attention began to be paid to high finance, and an increasing share made available for 'nation-building' enterprises.

This whole episode was one in which all India shared in the triumphs of Gokhale. It was a great success for the National Movement and its prestige and power were considerably augmented in consequence.

(4) One more factor had by now arisen, destined to exert henceforth a strongly determining influence on the entire attitude of India toward Britain. It was the problem of Indians overseas, the analysis of which will require a whole chapter.[1] Suffice it here to say that in this period when for the first time it demanded urgent attention, India had at its helm a man like Hardinge, who did not hesitate to champion a cause which he felt was righteous. His whole attitude in the matter and the courageous way in which he fought India's battle in Britain and Africa materially re-established in the mind of India that confidence in the British connection, the secret of its success over many adverse circumstances. To realise this is to understand how, when the war broke out in 1914, Hardinge could with confidence invoke India's co-operation, and find a response unstinted in its measure and quality.

This epoch, the epoch of Morley-Gokhale-Hardinge, was a 'purple patch' in the history of the political movement in India. It started with Morley "taking down the rusty sword of 1818," and it ended with India's whole-hearted co-operation with Britain in the trenches of France and Belgium. It was full of events of difficult and even delicate complexities. The safe and even rewarding voyage through it all was chiefly due to the personal worth of the three men mentioned and of some of their immediate colleagues.

[1] *Vide* Chapter VII.

CHAPTER V

THE WAR

(*A*)

WHEN the twentieth century entered on its second decade, the Indian National Movement was running steadily in a broad, deep channel, so broad and deep that its great speed was not always perceptible. It was now as broad as practically the entire width of life. And it was deep enough to permeate vital issues and to bring out continual series of creative activities. The Hindu University of Benares was now an accomplished fact, with a masterly programme working for essential progress in a spirit of true loyalty to ancient culture. The Moslem University of Aligarh was an even greater triumph of the National Movement. For the Mohammedan community had been severely unresponsive to the new leaven, and it cost long and anxious labour to Sir Sayyad Ahmed and his school of modernists to carry their co-religionists into paths of progress. Before Benares and Aligarh could be, there had to be many a 'Hindu School' and 'Mohammedan School' in every part of India, as also quite a number of

'Hindu Colleges' and 'Islamia Colleges' affiliated to the various existing universities, many of them results of private enterprise. The Dyanand College at Lahore was but one instance of the educational work which the Arya Samaj was now carrying on all over the Punjab and the United Provinces. The Deccan Educational Association had now two colleges and a network of schools in Maharashtra. As I remember Sir Stanley Reed pointing out at that time, Poona, though not a university, was almost a university centre, with wide educational foundations, built mainly by purely Indian effort. Already Mysore University was being created by Indian talent, and was presently to be put into such shape as to earn high appreciation from Sir Michael Sadler's Commission. This is by no means an exhaustive list of the institutions of that period, which demanded high purpose and disinterested service, besides, of course, substantial ability.

So also, by that period there were emerging great personalities in increasing number. India is ever moved by the contagion and inspiration of personalities more even than she is disciplined or impelled by institutions. If the National Movement was surging forward thus steadily on from decade to decade it was chiefly because of the men, and presently also women, to whom any nation would accord the appellation of 'greatness.' Started by Ram Mohan Roy, Dadhabai Naoroji and Sayyad Ahmed, their roll has been maintained in unbroken continuity, all the time

representing more aspects of life unreached before. Their number was increased so steadily that by now (1914) one could reckon only those who had not merely an all-India reputation but also high appreciation abroad. Sir Ratan Tata was one such, displaying a genius for industrial organisation which was as romantic as it was marvellous. Sir Jagadish Chander Bose is another, a veritable genius in dealing with plant life, whom every great scientific society in the world has honoured. So also, Sir M. Visvesvariah, whose administration of Mysore was conducted with the same brilliant initiative which had characterised his great predecessors. He was now employing his versatile talents to the making of Mysore into a model state in every possible way, from the marine survey of Baitkul Harbour and the creation of the Badravati Iron Works to the teaching of small cottage industries from village to village and even street by street. Sir Ashutosh Mukerji was another of those Titans to whom the administration of one of the largest universities in the world was a spare-time occupation after a full day's labours on the bench of the High Court of Calcutta. In the realm of politics there stood out head and shoulders above many comrades, themselves of giant stature, Gopala Krishna Gokhale, one of the founders of the Deccan Educational Association, chief builder of Fergusson College, founder and head of the Servants of India Society, veteran of many a great battle in which his record was always heroic whatever the result, the one Indian political

force with whom even George Nathaniel Curzon felt it necessary to reckon. These are all men whose worth was well recognised in Britain, and, in the case of some of them, in Europe and America as well. But the greatest and widest recognition of all arrived in 1913 when the Nobel Prize was awarded to Rabindranath Tagore. His *Gitanjali*, written in an Indian language and put into English by himself, had travelled into the languages of Europe and the Far East and had so deeply impressed men and women that the voice of Europe — one may say the voice of the world — was signified in the award of this prize. The world outside Britain had henceforth to be in direct commerce not only with the riches of ancient India, which was already a fact, but also with the living forces of modern India.

All this was not by any means lost on India. The advance that India was making in the sisterhood of nations was a continuous stimulus to her children. It brought the more clearly to their mind the enormous nation-building work waiting to be done and the delicate democratic adjustments still to be accomplished. Fortunately the conditions available for the work were sincere co-operation and that full measure of mutual confidence which alone could make sincere co-operation possible. The fact that Morley and Minto had come on the scene at the right time and did the right thing, and that they were succeeded by Crewe, Montagu and Hardinge, who were

eager to carry out the reforms in the spirit in which they were introduced, and above all the fact that Hardinge was what he was, so human and so truly noble—these went a long way toward this happy circumstance. The very men, like Gokhale and Sir C. Sankaran Nair, who never minced matters when the sins of Britain had to be recounted or the claims of India had to be urged, were also foremost in making acknowledgments in open-handed gratitude.

Moreover, it would be unfair not to make it clear at this point that the leaders of India were not so blinded by the high standards repeatedly being attained by their compatriots in diverse lines of work as to be oblivious of the fact that India had yet to go a long way before she could be worthy of her own great heritage or begin to fulfil her destiny in the world. The deepest ambitions of the best minds of India at that time, spoken by many in diverse ways and unspoken by many more, though felt deeply in the inmost heart, were voiced by the Laureate of the nation in his own inimitable way:

Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high;
Where knowledge is free;
Where the world has not been broken up into fragments by narrow domestic walls;
Where words come out from the depth of truth;
Where tireless striving stretches its arms towards perfection;
Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into the dreary desert sand of dead habit;

Where the mind is led forward by thee into ever-widening thought and action—
Into that heaven of freedom, my Father, let my country awake.

This classic verse, now the priceless possession of so many other nations, came at that juncture to the children of India, as their own passionate cry for freedom, that true freedom of their Motherland, which is political, and immeasurably more than what mere political freedom implies.

(*B*)

All these would indicate, in a very inadequate way, the psychological background of India when the war broke on her consciousness, like a bolt from the blue. War was nothing new to India. Her north-western frontier is always on a war footing. Kitchener had just been carrying out highly expensive reforms in the army to make it still more efficient as a war instrument. The Boer War was watched by all India with very grave interest and much sympathy was felt, specially for Queen Victoria. The heroic way in which Campbell Bannerman had dealt with the Boers in the hour of victory was widely appreciated; it was so much in line with the spirit of ancient India. The Russo-Japanese War made a profound impression throughout India. That irresponsible autocracy can never hold the loyalty of a people, and is therefore hollow to its core and unable to

withstand a real challenge, that an Asiatic could beat a powerful European nation at its own game if it took pains to learn it thoroughly, that Japan's success was due to her rapid modernisation in all the material lines of Western civilisation, and, above all, that Europe *qua Europe* had no element of superiority, hidden and intangible—these were some of the ideas which had made many an Indian sit up and ponder, study and discuss; and it had led to divers new activities. Many young men turned their steps eastward to learn industries and incidentally nation-building from Japan. Publicists like Sir M. Visveswariah included Japan in their foreign tours. The condition of Indian industries, their history, their overmuch dependence on Britain, came glaringly to the attention and gave much cause for thought. Nationalism received a decided momentum, in all its aspects, more especially in politics and economics. At the same time the spiritual instinct of India raised its voice of warning. If such is indeed the price for so-called national greatness, is it worth it? What *is* national 'greatness'? These were some of the resurgings of the mind. Once more Tagore voiced much of the deeper stirrings of India's mind over this problem in his lectures on 'Nationalism,' delivered chiefly in Japan.

While war was no unfamiliar bogey, and the warlike factor of the British make-up had been repeatedly in evidence in the course of the years of India's connection with her, the outbreak of

war between such nations as Britain, France and Germany was to India a profound surprise. To India these nations represented the highest quality of Western culture and statesmanship. Whatever devious things the Jingoes among them might perpetrate with reference to 'less advanced' nations, it was inconceivable that nations such as these could possibly do such a demeaning thing as go to war with one another! If their culture did not forbid it, at least for reasons of statesmanship, in fact, 'sheer common sense,' surely they could not engage on such an utterly futile course as war. The first great shock to India was there. I remember a conversation my wife brought home from her 'Workers' Party' in the town. The 'Party' consisted of Hindu ladies from leading well-to-do families. They knew no English, but were well cultured according to the traditional discipline of Indian society. One of them, reporting part of the conversation of the "males in her home," asked with much concern: "I understand they are all cousins. Can't somebody make it up for them? Surely they must by now be eager themselves to end this heartrending affair. After all, what is the use? What *is* the use?" It was a strangely disconcerting revelation of the precise stage at which even the most cultured of the Western nations had yet arrived.

Then as the war proceeded and the Powers settled down with dogged obstinacy 'to see the business through,' India watched with marvel

the degree of solidarity to which a people can be welded and the heights of self-sacrifice and heroic suffering to which they can voluntarily rise, at the call of a national crisis. Nationalism stood uncovered before the eye in some of its ennobling possibilities. Modern India saw something of what is meant by a whole nation being baptised by fire, an object-lesson of what was so soon and so tragically to be demanded of her own children when unfortunately they were totally unprepared for it.

Another marvel before the eye of India was this: that even such a highly complex organisation as the British nation, with the democratic ideal at the foundations of so many of her affairs in principle as well as in tradition, could be recast as it were in the twinkling of an eye and be brought under a relentless centralised control, and every possible asset regimented for the supreme national objective of the hour, whatever man, woman or child had, whether of material or muscle or of intelligence.

Then India observed with quivering pain the steady prostitution of all forms of intellectual and scientific method and research to the elementary thirst for blood. The war was rapidly becoming a duel as to who would be quicker, more subtle, in a word, more destructively efficient, in the application of science. Did not the Commission appointed at Versailles after the war, report after many months of investigation that it was utterly impossible to disarm a nation so long as Science

had to have freedom to deal with material of any sort in its laboratories? This ought to have been no surprise, for the evolution of war has always been at the direction of science. The whole career of research into which Visvamitra[1] was launched was in response to a passion above which all his discipline and study could not raise him. If the story was symbolic, it certainly stood for a very tragic fact in human nature. Still, India had for a century and more identified the progress of Western science with the relief or alleviation of human suffering and of the increase of human comfort and happiness. The war revealed science itself in its nakedness; that it was really neutral and non-moral; and that its use or abuse depended on human issues from deeper resources.

Then, as the war dragged on in wearisome delay, and doubts were clouding the mind in depressing weight, India began to realise with deep shame that even cultured nations could descend to the level of brutes and, when in that mentality, in cold blood perpetrate crimes which in their normal life they could not even dream about. Anything was apparently justifiable if it would help win the war, falsehood and crime not excepted. It was a staggering revelation of human nature.

Happily, however, there were also relieving

[1] The sage Visvamitra devoted himself to study the religious austerities not as most people do for spiritual attainments, but solely for outdoing the greatest of his contemporaries, the saintly sage Vasishta.

features. The Y.M.C.A. of India engaged in humanitarian service for all Indian troops in France, Belgium, Mesopotamia, Egypt and Palestine, and for Indian, British and African troops in East Africa; in India itself it was serving Indian and British troops and also the German prisoners; in the heart of Germany it was able to serve Indian prisoners. The cost of this extensive work was in a very large measure borne by voluntary subscriptions raised in India, and as the collecting of such huge funds year after year involved much publicity work and as the direction of it was in Indian hands, a knowledge of it was constantly brought before India in diverse ways. That the meaning of it was deeply appreciated was evidenced by the financial response. It is regrettable that India was not able to realise that the work of the Indian Y.M.C.A., very large as it seemed, was itself but a fraction of the magnificent service of colossal dimensions rendered by the British and American Y.M.C.A.'s and by many other Christian and philanthropic organisations, perhaps the most heroic of them all, the services of the Quakers of both Britain and America.

The first real relief in the tension came when the Tsarist autocracy collapsed and a republic was set up in its place. There was no possibility of estimating clearly all that was really going on in Russia at the time, nor the inwardness of the revolutions which swept through that country in quick succession. The main impression was that one of the gigantic evils of Europe had gone to its

account as it richly deserved, and that things had begun to readjust themselves.

More relief came to the mind of India from Woodrow Wilson. Here was after all a man, a Western man, who was not afraid to speak openly in terms of idealism in such a world as that! The head of a powerful nation which was usually understood to worship at the shrine of the dollar, from his seat of responsibility was stating principles which, if accepted, would mean 'a new Heaven and a new earth'! If war *must* be, it should be a war to end war for ever. From it should issue a world really safe for democracy, a federation of the world, where every nation, however small in numbers and weak in the accepted standards of strength, would have freedom for self-determination and for self-expression; it was a new apology for war, not the old talk of broken pledges or the ending of a militaristic menace. It was a virtual confession that war is really due to moral bankruptcy all round, brought about by unsocial standards of national and international morality; a solemn conviction that if they are not rectified there will be war again in due course and every such war will be an immeasurably worse catastrophe, bound eventually to deprive man of every scrap of culture or morality; and a set determination that therefore the world should be readjusted. The sole justification for this war was that even such a price was not too great to pay if thereby the world could be really readjusted.

India watched also with relief how, out of the general ruin of Eastern Europe, nation after nation emerged with its old national entity apparently unbroken; in fact, with a rejuvenating zest from the new wine of freedom, bought at such heavy price! So Finland, Esthonia and Latvia, and later Poland, Czecho-Slovakia and Jugo-Slavia, each meant a significant lesson to India. Chiefly the romance of the reunion of Poland after an international crime of three hundred years was realised with deeply-felt satisfaction. In 1822 when Spain got a Constitution—Spain which had never the remotest connection with India—Ram Mohan Roy gave a public dinner in the Town Hall of Calcutta. A hundred years had apparently left the Indian mind still naïve and unsophisticated!

(*C*)

Remembering that these are some of the strands wherewith the war-psychology had to be patterned, let us revert to the Indian National Movement itself at the outbreak of the war. Let us recall the calmness, the confidence and the assurance which were then characterising the attitude of the Indian leaders in dealing with problems of great difficulty and complexity. Hardinge was the Viceroy and Gokhale had the leadership of India. It was an atmosphere of mutual respect and trust based on substantial convictions and tried experiences.

When the war broke out there was immediate and absolute unanimity among all Indian parties that all political activity should be suspended and that the utmost effort should be made to support Britain in the giant contest. Practically every one of any influence began directly or indirectly to assist the common enterprise. Men of great leadership like Mr Gandhi, Sir Surendranath Bannerji and Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer actively engaged in recruiting work. In the Legislature there was complete willingness to vote for all the extra expenditure and even to make heavy donations to the central exchequer in London. When the war spread out to other Continents, and more troops and more money were required, there was no demur whatever to the sending of Indian troops anywhere or to the expenditure of all the necessary treasure. Hardinge's trust in India was immense, was simply unlimited: and the response of India was in the same ratio. He was entitled to say that he had "depleted India of all the garrison" and "bled India white of her wealth." This measure of co-operation in regard to the war was maintained to the day of the Armistice, though, meanwhile, political activity had been revived and ran a much chequered course. It amply signified the fact that politics did not affect loyalty.

India's participation in the war was no nominal affair, not a mere gesture. In a few weeks from August 4th Indian troops were on their way to France, and during that difficult winter of 1914,

when Kitchener's army was still being prepared, and the Dominions were still harnessing, Indians stood shoulder to shoulder with the British troops in the thin red line which was the one barrier of the Empire. Viscount French said of that first period: "The Indian troops fought with great gallantry and marked success. . . . The fighting was very severe and the losses heavy, but nothing daunted them. Their tenacity, courage and endurance were admirable." Eventually, near two million[1] men had to don khaki and the total cost to India, such as can be reckoned, was many millions.[2] It was participation in full measure, no less in quality than any of the Dominions, and in quantity exceeding what was forthcoming from all the Dominions and Colonies put together.

Toward all this what was the real attitude of India, that 'essential India' whose ideals are so different from those which can contemplate war? What was the inwardness of the phenomenon of a Gandhi recruiting for the army, and, even more, a Brahmin of Brahmins like a Sivaswami Iyer doing such a thing? This question was plainly put to

[1] Including Native States.

[2] The Legislature voted free gifts amounting to £145,000,000. The Rajahs gave millions besides. "India's contributions in supplies of all sorts, foodstuffs, clothing, ordnance, equipment and munitions, the training and dispatch of horses, and lending to the Admiralty a great part of her Royal Indian Marine fleet, were totalled by the Finance Member of the Viceroy's Council as amounting (in rupees) to 150 millions for the first year, 270 millions the second year, and over 300 millions the third year." Obviously these do not exhaust the total sacrifices made by India.

me by Romain Rolland. We tarry a moment over this, for it is certainly an element in that strangely complex phenomenon called the Indian National Movement. One chief explanation of it is forthcoming in Mr Gandhi's own words,[1] to which confirmatory quotations can be multiplied to any extent from what other leaders said at that time:

> As a passive resister . . . I discovered that the British Empire had certain ideals with which I have fallen in love, and one of those ideals is that every subject of the British Empire has the freest scope for his energies and honour and whatever he thinks is due to his conscience. I think that this is true of the British Empire as it is not true of any other government.

Again:—

> The gateway to our freedom is on the French soil.
>
> My advice to the country would be to fight unconditionally unto death with Britain for victory, and agitate simultaneously, also unto death if we must, for the reforms which we desire.

But it was in no spirit of bargaining that India was making a flagrant compromise of her highest ideals. The sense of gratitude was sincere and deep. The sense of security which the British connection was giving was real. The sense of the need for some such external connection in the still fluid condition of Indian nationalism was perfectly clear. The wisest policy as well as the clearest duty lay in the fullest measure of co-operation. As the attitude of British statesmen

[1] *Vide* pp. 37 and 38, *Mahatma Gandhi*, by Gray and Parekh.

was equally responsive, what was started as duty developed steadily into identity of interests.

Still India could not forget her ideals. The analysis of feelings attempted in the preceding section was probably true of all Indians, not excluding the Mohammedans,—that war was distinctly on the lower plane of life, unavoidable for those who cannot rise above it. If then a Sivaswami Iyer could recruit, it was no more than what Sri Krishna told Arjuna to do. To the end of time probably, at all events in this day of ours, there are those to whom war is spelt in terms of duty. To them, to shrink not, but to shoulder their arms, is even an uplifting *dharma*.[1] Thus is the discipline of their own souls secured, and at the same time in the social conditions of man the discipline of the whole body politic secured through their faithfulness. If this reasoning could be grasped it will be perceived how the attitude of India could be most accurately described by saying that 'India was *in* the war (most certainly, in the very centre of it) and yet India was not *of* the war.' It was a *karma*,[2] it was a cross; it was borne not in resignation but manfully all through the *via dolorosa*. We dare not tarry to analyse this attitude further. Suffice it here to say that no participant in the war more truly felt relieved by the Armistice than did India from one end of it to the other.

[1] The law of life.

[2] The effect of sin, and a disciplinary visitation for one's betterment.

(*D*)

All this participation in the war brought in its wake developments little foreseen by the Government or by the Indian leaders, developments which were contributory to a further broadening of the National Movement. Indian peasants on the soil of Europe! Things could never be as before. If we had the space it could be proved to demonstration that the Moplah Rebellion could not have been conceived or carried out without the experiences gained in France and Belgium by the recruits from Malabar. That was but one result, fortunately the only sinister result. But its extreme nature will illustrate what the unusual experience meant when the troops returned to the rural conditions of their homes where the clock had hitherto scarcely moved from year end to year end, thanks to the various vested interests in the countryside.

When the war came it found India already entering into direct relationship with the world at large. One of the effects of the war was to break up in a large measure the sheltered isolation in which Britain had guarded her for a century and a half. Not the least valuable thing was the opportunities it created for Indians to be known in a direct way and to be appreciated to a genuine extent by some of those British peoples which have by now grown to be nations in themselves

and occupy that status within the British Commonwealth. Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and in a measure even South Africa, obtained such opportunities. During the war, the fellowship in suffering was the best of all opportunities. After the war, at Versailles and at the Imperial Conferences there were other opportunities, of a different kind and of far-reaching importance.

Not with the 'Dominions' only but with many nations of the world India now came into direct touch. The war had thrown much of Europe out of gear and everything was being readjusted afresh at Versailles. The Far East and America, while safe in themselves, were also in the thick of the currents and were making contributions of no mean value. The place that India had already secured in the estimate of them all was signified in the ready acceptance of India as a full and original member of the League of Nations. Not long after she was to have a seat on the governing body of the International Labour Bureau. All these new developments and opportunities were making each its distinctive contribution to the tenor and strength of the National Movement in India.

One more effect of the war must be noted, in conclusion. Two-thirds of Indian territory, inhabited by nearly a third of her population, is ruled by princes. This great slice of India fully participates in the culture that is distinctive of India. But the Western leaven has had little chance of having its effect in these 'Indian

States,' except in a very few of them, such as Mysore, Travancore and Baroda, which are, however, very important. There can be no pretension that the Indian National Movement embraces the population of all these states. As for the princes, their attitude even yet is always uncertain, dependent entirely on each individual as he succeeds to power. The war, for the first time, brought the princes on to something like common ground with the representatives of the British Provinces. In the war zones, in the Imperial Conferences, at Versailles, and then at Geneva, there was again and again the necessity for prince and commoner to find common ground for discharging the very responsible task of representing officially the interest of their common Motherland, and incidentally her honour and her culture.

If a summary should be hazarded it may be said that the war led India to a truer understanding of Western culture in its tragic limitations and its hopeful possibilities, brought India finally into the sisterhood of nations and placed before her the challenge to qualify in full measure to the expectations that the world had of her. Those 'expectations' did not mean any great and glorious rôle of prophecy that India was to assume in a sudden and superior way. Those expectations were, as regards India, the same as regards any other nation, 'to stand on her own feet' and so begin to make a contribution to the common good of man that is legitimately expected of every other nation large or small. It was no longer justifiable

for her to be a charge on the moral guardianship of Britain. It was high time for India herself to begin to determine what the further development of her culture and her destiny was to be. India may have been quite wrong in so reading the significance of events. But I believe I am right in so interpreting the mind of the National Movement at the time. And there was no mistaking the fact that Edwin Montagu had so sensed the trend of things—as we shall proceed to see.

CHAPTER VI

MONTAGU—GANDHI

SRIMAN C. VIJIARAGHAVACHAR, the doyen of Indian politics, a leader in the vanguard from 1883, presiding over the Nagpur Congress in December 1920, pointed out that the destiny of India was in the hands of two men, Edwin Montagu and Mahatma Gandhi, and made an earnest appeal that the streams of both influences might coalesce, and so prevent the tragedies which he sensed were impending. Unfortunately, Montagu's influence on his countrymen was already on the wane, and Gandhi's influence had already reached a momentum beyond his own control and was carrying its author forward much as he carried the millions to whom his word was gospel. The tragedy was already sealed as inevitable. But if at any period the direction of India's National Movement was consciously and deliberately attempted by single individuals it was from 1915 to 1922. In the first part it was Montagu and in the latter part Gandhi. The conflict of either of these was not with the other, but with those great vested interests in India or Britain and their perfected machinery which dominate Indian affairs. Both men were broken on the wheel;

the political power of each, phenomenal as it was while it lasted, has already passed into history.

The purpose of this book is not to chronicle but to interpret. Avoiding the fascinating rôle of historian, let us attempt the elusive task of discerning the inwardness of events as they moved along in that momentous period.

Let us revert for a moment to the psychological background, the atmosphere, which is of such importance for all things human. Abroad, India was beginning to enter the arena of the world, no longer merely as a memory and a heritage, but as a living force, with present achievements and future potentialities. The war then broke out and India quickly found a place in its very central features—in the grim battlefields, in the far-flung base which supported gigantic operations, and in those economic concomitants which rapidly assumed a world-wide importance. At home, with Hardinge working the Morley-Minto system, and standing for the national honour of India before his own countrymen, with the National Movement in all its many phases settling down into constructive studies and activities, with the roll of public leaders and social servants ever on the increase, India was in the happiest of moods. The whole attitude was truly stated by Gokhale when he adjured the Viceroy, with the confidence of one speaking to an assenting listener, "that the Government of India should henceforth function as a truly Indian Government." In

such an attitude of confidence the 'Memorandum of the Nineteen' Indian members of the Imperial Legislature was drawn up, stating in outline the further advance that should be made in the constitutional adjustments of Government. In the same attitude was written 'Gokhale's Testament,'[1] which he entrusted to the Aga Khan as a legacy to his country.

It is a matter of no surprise then that the whole country, men of all parties, spontaneously agreed to suspend all political activity during the period of the war, and gave themselves instead to assisting Britain in her mortal conflict with such a powerful, wealthy, resourceful, and determined foe as Germany; a conflict which it was feared would drain the resources of the Empire. Although this self-denying ordinance was as a matter of fact broken after a year (for reasons which we shall presently interpret), the political activity which ensued was carried on in the same attitude of robust confidence which the spirit of Hardinge so successfully ensured.

Political activity was recommenced at the immediate instance of Mrs Besant, who suddenly entered the platform after a prolonged absence and was unrelated to its current tone and timbre. She landed in Bombay with a whole 'Home Rule' project ready hatched in her brain. It was certainly very timely; and she, with the energy and brilliance which she can always command, translated it very rapidly into a living movement

[1] Suggesting further constitutional reforms.

on a national scale. Supposing Mrs Besant had not been, even then it is highly doubtful if the self-imposed restraint *could* have been observed for a very long time. The war was never so 'near' India as to make that absorbing demand on the attention that it did on the 'nearer' combatants; and it was drawn out too long, much longer than was contemplated when the restraint was self-imposed with such willing alacrity. Meanwhile, the war itself was revealing the value of India to the British Commonwealth, was drawing her closer to Britain and to the British nations overseas. The war was also compelling the whole world to see such things as nationalities and national aspirations in new values. The whole world was being reborn in the throes of a tragic cataclysm. To many the times seemed appropriate for the Magnificat:

> For he that is mighty hath done to me great things; and holy is his Name.
> And his mercy is on them that fear him from generation to generation.
> He hath shewed strength with his arm; he hath scattered the proud in the imagination of their hearts.
> He hath put down the mighty from their seats, and hath exalted them of low degree.
> He hath filled the hungry with good things; and the rich he hath sent empty away.

Whole nations were making every sacrifice, including life itself, for what they valued as justice and equity. Britain's heart was over-

flowing with gratitude to her daughters and more especially to India, for the unstinted measure of co-operation in her hour of mortal need. Britain was esteeming India by a new scale of values. In Britain itself every one was speaking of the necessity for "a change in the angle of vision."

But Mrs Besant gave to the new movement a velocity and insistence, which from the vantage of this distance must be judged as ill-conceived and untimely. It came wellnigh tilting the whole boat to the drowning point. Gokhale was gone; the voice that would have spoken of constructive advance in sure and steady steps was silenced for ever. The Civil Service, so truly magnificent in efficiency, but which, strangely enough, has so often shown itself to be incapable of adjusting itself to new situations, presented Mrs Besant with a laurel crown of martyrdom. Then India was of course bound in honour to rally round her. Things began to assume an ugly aspect. What could have been secured in willing cordiality was being demanded in a manner which would soon have descended into a mercenary bargain with reference to the carnage fields of Belgium and Mesopotamia.

It was the genius of Montagu that saved the situation before it was too late. Montagu had been apprenticed to Morley at the India Office. Even before the war he had taken up a constructive attitude toward India. As the war developed many issues in favour of India, he

refused to be led away by the passing clouds of the Besantine episode. To his understanding, though but ten years had passed since Morley's reforms, the day had already arrived when Britain should deal with the whole problem radically, and place the entire British connection on a sound basis by clearly defining its high purpose. Montagu knew India better than those who used 'Irish methods' or were frightened by such when they appeared here and there. He had personally known Gokhale and other Indian leaders, and above all he had enough sympathetic imagination to realise that the heart of India was throbbing with the confidence that is caused by a rising tide of self-reliance as much as by the very substantial improvement in the British attitude since the advent of Morley and Hardinge. Confidence breeds confidence; and to Montagu more confidence was the lever to lift the situation to the level of a cordial solidarity which should be permanently free from all suspicion, and so set attention free henceforward for those vast and varied internal problems which were in dire need of solution. It was a great conception, as magnanimous as it was brilliant. If it could have had an even course, the years which immediately followed would have furnished a monumental testimony to the genius of the man. History will yet award to Montagu a higher meed for true statesmanship than has yet been vouchsafed to him.

The stirring events which followed are common

history. It is our place to appraise their human value. The drama commenced with the "Declaration of August 20" (1917):

> The policy of His Majesty's Government, with which the Government of India are in complete accord, is that of the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire. They have decided that substantial steps in this direction should be taken as soon as possible. . . .

It was Cabinet action, the solemn statement of a new principle by the whole Ministry, made before the highest legislature under the Crown. So it was conceived and so it was understood in India. The tenor of it was followed by similar unusual acts. The Secretary of State spent many months in India. Everyone who had any following and every group with any organisation in wide India told him their views. He and the Viceroy (Lord Chelmsford) issued a 'Report,' a remarkable document in itself, unlike anything hitherto issued by officials, unlike chiefly in its courage and its ambition. Two Committees came out to fill in the details of the Reforms by similar wide consultations on the spot. Meanwhile the principles laid down in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report were studied in London by a Joint Committee of both Houses of Parliament, with the aid of 'witnesses,' sent by all manner of organisations in India. The eventual passage

of the Bill through the Legislature was in itself a gesture of significant value.

In harmony with the dawn that was rising on the situation, an Indian publicist[1] of universal acceptance in India at the time, worthy successor of the great Gokhale in spirit as by reason of ability, eminently a commoner and even a servant, was enrolled a member of the Privy Council, was invited to the Imperial Conference of Premiers and made a Freeman of the City of London. Even before that an Indian,[2] who through many years had fought the battles of India, was raised to the Peerage and appointed Under Secretary of State for India. He had contributed substantially to the study of the Bill in the Parliamentary Joint Committee, and piloted it with signal ability through the House of Lords. The place secured for India in the League of Nations was not due to the fight that any Indian put up; it was so, because it *could* not be otherwise, consistent with the esteem with which Britain had by then come to consider India. The resolution of the Imperial Conference with regard to Indians in the Dominions and the Colonies, unanimous but for one significant dissentient, was also in the fitness of things. So also was the invitation spontaneously given by the Dominions (save one, again) to Mr Srinivasa Sastri, whom now they had learnt to esteem for his own sake. The farthest reach was the appointment of an Indian as governor of a province.

[1] V. S. Srinivasa Sastri. [2] Satyendra Sinha.

The atmosphere cannot be better indicated than by describing the attitude of Mr Gandhi at the time. We shall quote the summary from that excellent biography by Gray and Parekh:

> During these years Mr Gandhi was looking steadily for political reform, in confident expectation that the end of the war would bring some clear advance, and he was wholly in sympathy with the party who kept urging upon Government the necessity for reform. When it was announced that Mr Montagu was coming to India to confer with the leaders and people on the subject of political reform, it was Mr Gandhi who devised the scheme of monster petition in behalf of the Congress League Scheme, and he himself organised with complete success the work of securing signatures in Gujarat. When the Montagu-Chelmsford Report was published in July 1918, he wrote a letter to the *Servant of India* in response to a request from the Hon. Mr Srinivasa Sastri. This letter shows that, though he was not deeply interested in controversial politics, yet he considered the scheme an honest attempt to fulfil the pledge of Government, and advised that it should receive careful and sympathetic handling.[1]

So far, Montagu. His spirit and his courage were behind every one of these things; but even he could go no further. Already there were warnings and they were presently to throw all things into confusion. The incidents of those fateful days stand before memory in tragic vividness. I was in Delhi at the time. On a Saturday Sir William Vincent was persuaded to allow a day to intervene in the passage of the

[1] pp. 46, 47.

Rowlatt Bill;[1] it was to be taken up on the Monday and, as all the world expected, to be forced through to conclusion. I remember that particular Sunday. I called on Mr Marris,[2] Sir William Vincent's Secretary. I called also on Mr Srinivasa Sastri. With neither of them did I discuss the Bill; but in their rooms and wherever I went in Delhi the atmosphere had one even temperature of set determination: hope had fled from both sides. The Service was determined to vest the Executive with extraordinary powers to deal with sedition. The Indian members refused to accept legislation which was a flagrant evidence of distrust, and, in the situation of that hour, with the Reform Bill on the anvil, an absolute insult to the whole nation. Next day (18th March 1919) in the Council the most earnest appeals were made to Government to desist. Every non-official Indian member, without a single exception, voted against the Bill.[3]

[1] The Rowlatt Committee was appointed to investigate the situation as regards sedition and conspiracy in Bengal. The Committee was of opinion that existing law was not adequate to enable Government to deal with emergency situations. The recommendations of this Committee were embodied in a Bill, which acquired in popular usage this title of 'Rowlatt Bill.'

[2] Afterwards Sir William Marris and Governor of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.

[3] Those gentlemen were: 1. Sir Tej Behadur Sapru; 2. Sir B. N. Sarma and 3. Sir Mian Muhammad Shafi, all of whom were later appointed members of the Viceroy's Executive Council; 4. Mr V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, afterwards appointed member of His Majesty's Privy Council, etc.; 5. Sir S. N. Bannerjea and 6. Rajah of Mahmudabad, who were later Ministers in the Reformed Councils; 7. Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy, who was appointed

The only Indian who voted for it was the Indian member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, and he had abstained from any participation in the whole debate.[1] But the Service, represented at the time by Sir William Vincent, was relentless. It had gone too far to step back. Apparently the loss of prestige would be disastrous!

Not that reason only. The disease was more fundamental. The Service was really incapable of sharing in that change of attitude in so many circles in Britain which had made it necessary for the Cabinet to make the "Declaration of August 20," which had resulted in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report and in all those extraordinary moves for giving Indians recognition and opportunities in the highest spheres of Imperial administration. Britain at its heart was telling India in the unmistakable language of actions that henceforth the relationship is not to be of 'rulers and ruled' but of partners in one enterprise, working for mutual benefits and common ends in terms of mutual confidence;

member of the Executive Council of the Governor of Bombay; 8. Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis, who became first President of the Council of the Central Provinces; 9. Mr V. J. Patel, who succeeded, by election, Sir F. K. Whyte as President of the Imperial Legislative Assembly; 10. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya; 11. Mir Asad Ali Khan Bahadur; 12. Rai Sita Nath Ray Bahadur; 13. Maharajah Sir M. C. Nandi of Kasim Bazaar; 14. Raja Sir Rampal Singh; 15. Rai Kristna Sahay Bahadur; 16. Raja of Kanika; 17. Rai Shukul Bahadur; 18. Mr Kamini Kumar Chanda; 19. Maung Bah Too, and 20. Sir Dinshaw Wacha.

[1] Sir C. Sankaran Nair. His views may be gauged from the quotation on p. 135.

whereas the Service in India remained unaffected in its traditional attitude of scientific benevolence administered in official efficiency and safeguarded by a halo of prestige.

Already in its First Dispatch on the Indian constitutional reforms, the Government of India, embodying the views of the Provincial Governments, had revealed the fact of the unchanged attitude of the Services. Neither the idealism which the war had in multifarious ways brought to Britain, nor the vigorous life to which India's National Movement had by now reached, was felt within the sacred precincts of the Services. Nor could they, within the ice-bounds of their social isolation, realise that the National Movement was by now definitely entrenched in a mountain defile of national honour. It was not yet possible for the bureaucracy to take from Indians, not even from a Sastri and a Sapru, a diagnosis of the feeling of their own nation. Sir C. Sankaran Nair, being then a member of the Executive Council of the Viceroy, wrote thus in his Minute of Dissent to that very document, the 'First Dispatch':

> After the Mutiny, Sir Sayyad Ahmad pointed out that it was absolute ignorance on the part of the Englishmen of the real condition of the country that was responsible for the Mutiny, and he advocated the appointment of Indian members to the Legislative Councils to give the English rulers information of the needs of the country. The men nominated by the Government proved utterly useless for the purpose. Nomination was found to be an absolute failure. The Congress then claimed a repre-

sentative element in the Legislative Councils in the hope that if the authorities were kept well-informed by the authorised representatives of the nation, the condition of the masses of the country would be vastly improved. Lord Lansdowne introduced an elected element into the Councils, but there was no real improvement. All their efforts for more than fifteen years proved abortive. They were told that they did not know the conditions of the country themselves; that the officials knew better; and against their strong protests measures were enacted and a line of conduct pursued which led to the growth of sedition in the country. Lord Morley then enlarged the Legislative Councils to provide real representation of the various classes of the people so that the same reproach might no more be levelled that the Councils did not represent the real voice of the nation. He provided for resolutions to be moved in the Councils so that the Indians might be able to formulate their views for the consideration of the officials, and the officials might be enabled to give their reasons in reply. He also provided; what is equally important, for the appointment of Indians to the Executive Councils so that they might press acceptance of the popular views upon their colleagues. This experiment has been tried also for a sufficiently long time only to prove its futility; and not only the Congress and popular leaders of the country but all thinking men in India have come to the conclusion that the existing machinery is insufficient for the peaceful and good governance of the country.

Never was a more tragic debacle perpetrated in the relationship of two great nations. The work of a dozen eventful years from the day Morley came to the India Office, by good and great men of both races, in nurturing almost into fruition the delicate plant of mutual confidence, was

dashed to the ground at the obstinate demand of administrative safety and efficiency. After all, the Rowlatt Act was never put into operation—not even once—till it was removed as worthless from the Statute Book: there was never any need for it, not even during that period of intense political agitation amounting to a revolution. As a legislative measure its futility is registered by itself; as an administrative act it is a great and final judgment on a bureaucracy, the most efficient and benevolent ever developed in human history; and therefore on all bureaucracy as a human system.

But more evidence and yet more was to be piled up mercilessly by the bureaucracy against itself. The Rowlatt Bill passed by the Imperial Legislative Council was awaiting the Viceroy's assent. Mr Gandhi begged the Viceroy to veto it. Mr Gandhi is nothing if he is not absolutely undiscourageable in his faith in man. But even a less robust optimist might have hoped for such a possibility. First, the Viceroy was the same man who had with Montagu worked at and brought out that 'Report.' Second, the voice of India, through the entire group of its accredited representatives in the Council and through innumerable protests on the platform and in the press had signified its sentiment on the subject. The dullest observer could not fail to discern that the matter had become definitely a point of honour to the whole nation. As a matter of fact in many hearts besides Mr Gandhi's there was an earnest hope

that the Viceroy would yet save the situation. But Lord Chelmsford did not, and the Bill became law. Once more India realised with a bitter pain that few Viceroys *could* do such a thing. It needs a Canning or a Ripon or a Hardinge to rise above the system which they have come to direct. How desperately rare they are! And even they, how often they had to submit!

There was nothing very new in it to Indian leaders. A thousand times they had sat under similar humiliation. But Mr Gandhi's experience had hitherto been confined to South Africa, where the problem, though always cruder and more intense, was apparently less complicated and more manageable. It is well for the continuous development of a people that its leadership should thus from time to time be taken up by those whose heart has not been seared by too many disappointments. Mr Gandhi's sense of national honour was relatively fresh. As for his courage it is always unlimited, based as it is, like St Paul's, on a passionate sense of mission. He did not hesitate a moment to summon his countrymen to express their disappointment through *satyāgraha* — the movement of non-violent non-co-operation which he had proved to be of such power in South Africa. The response to it was extensive throughout the country.

The events which followed in lightning succession during the next twenty-four months have been recounted over and over again. There are also the official Reports of the Government of

India and of the Indian Congress on some of those events. It will serve no useful purpose to attempt a fresh narration apportioning praise or blame. For our purpose on hand—the understanding of the National Movement as a resultant of the British connection—we shall dwell briefly on a few selected phenomena.

First in time comes up the administration of Martial Law in the Punjab. There were two revelations in it to the Indian mind. The depths to which human cruelty could descend had come in abundant evidence from Belgium; it was now, in all its terrific ugliness, within our own household, victimising our own flesh and blood, trampling on our own sacred honour. That the British could ever do it to us was one revelation. The other was far more serious even than this.[1]

Public fury at the time was concentrated on General Dyer; so much so that the British community in India felt they could best retaliate by setting up a public movement to present *him* with a purse. But Indian feeling moved very soon beyond General Dyer. After all, he came with a war-psychology, he came 'from the blind end' with no real knowledge of the people he had to deal with, and he came into a perplexing situation where no risks could be taken. What justification was there for the civil authorities, who knew of every ugly thing that was happening,

[1] Sir Valentine Chirol's summary on p. 207 of his latest book, *India. The Modern World*, edited by H. A. L. Fisher, *vide* Appendix C.

and in cold blood allowed them to continue? *They* had been amid these very people all their lives; they had been in exceptionally intimate contact with them in the recruitment in which this very province had furnished half a million men; they had absolutely no defence. The cold, calculated cruelty of these men entered the soul of India as a poisoned barb and stayed there. It is this which the Duke of Connaught recognised when he spoke of "the shadow of Amritsar lengthening darkly over the land," and appealed to India "to forget and forgive." Every observer since, whatever his judgment of it, has declared the fact that what had happened was an entire loss of confidence in Britain. Even Mr Srinivasa Sastri, than whom Britain has not in this generation a more confiding friend, stated this fact in the plainest of English at the Viceroy's table.

This complete reversal of the psychological situation, from a convinced and sincere mutual confidence, has been the tragic background of the situation all these seven eventful years. The very first gleam of returning confidence has come, not from any of those good and even great acts which the Services have done in the interval, but from the ring of manly courage in the simple and direct appeals which Lord Irwin has this year (1926) made in regard to a national calamity of baffling difficulty, even though the precise problem involved in it is peculiarly India's concern rather than that of the British in India. So far is the milk of genuine human understanding

more vitalising than all the scientific benevolence of soulless official efficiency.

As *satyāgraha* moved forward, enveloping the whole nation, both sides settled down in grim determination. In that stage the aggressive part was mainly with Mr Gandhi. He was dealing out hammer-strokes one after another on a relentless foe who was immovable as regards the '*Khilafat*'[1] and sullen as regards redressing the 'Punjab Wrongs.' Meanwhile the movement was swelling to that strength which soon after carried it beyond even the immense power of the Mahatma. At such a ridiculously inopportune moment the visit of the Prince of Wales was decided upon—one more evidence of the colossal inability of the bureaucracy to discern the heart of India. If that was a strange blunder of Government, on the other side it was a staggering ignorance of national sensibilities for Mr Gandhi to have called for a boycott of the Prince. The sentimental attachment of the otherwise stolid Briton to the Royal Family and to a few other matters, such as the Union Jack, was not discerned even by Mr Gandhi, with all his intimate friendships with many British people. The British in India and still more those in Britain could not put it down to ignorance. They saw in it a national insult of very special malevolence. The complete success of the *hartal*[2] which Mr Gandhi

[1] Explained later in this chapter.

[2] Fast and abstention from business as a sign of national mourning or protest.

ordained to synchronise with the arrival of the Prince had an appalling effect on the British. I was in Calcutta on the day when the Prince landed in Bombay. The previous night at dinner my English hostess spoke of the possibility of losing all her servants the following morning; but it did not make very much impression on the company. The morning dawned, and I found myself in blissful solitude with my train to Bombay starting early in the forenoon from a station three miles away. The host of the previous night, in kindly suspicion of my predicament, brought round his car. As we drove on, Calcutta was absolutely a dead city, no taxis, no tram-cars, no shops, no business of any sort. At the station there was not a conveyance of any kind, and a chilling vacancy instead of the never-diminishing crowds that usually throng every entrance and tramp every platform. There was just one big lorry brought by the *satyagrahis* in justice to the arriving passengers. On the train I was the sole occupant of a carriage, though every berth in it was booked and ticketed. In the whole train there were hardly a dozen passengers, all classes reckoned. The same was true of most cities, towns and villages in wide India. People were openly asking: "Who rules India, Reading or Gandhi?" What wonder the other side settled down in grim determination?

The solidarity of the people, and, in a measure, the tasting of the power which lies hidden in such solidarity was another feature of the National Movement in this period. This solidarity, for

the first time in Indian history, embraced in conscious fellow-feeling both Hindus and Mohammedans. It was the practical insight which runs through so much that is unpractical in Mr Gandhi's idealism that was responsible for this achievement. He saw that India has no real chance until its unassimilable one-fifth is somehow brought into identity of interest with the main four-fifths of its population. *Noblesse oblige*. The *Khilafat*[1] was a matter which did not impinge on the Hindu consciousness anywhere; but it was clearly a matter of honour to the Moslem. Mr Gandhi said that the Hindu ought to make this his own cause as well; make it a front plank in his own platform, and so bind his small brother to his heart with hoops of steel. The magnetic personality of Mr Gandhi fused the comrades into a willing solidarity, a thrilling solidarity which gave to the whole National Movement an altogether fresh vision of high purpose and noble possibility, higher and nobler than had ever been realised before.

The solidarity of the people also implied that the political aspect of the National Movement was now embracing the intelligent and enthusiastic participation of the illiterate masses of India. It may be said, without exaggeration, that every single household in the country took the name of Mahatma Gandhi when the lamp was lit in the evening, in most of them with his picture (often the only picture) on the wall. It is well known

[1] The movement relative to the status of the Caliph, who was then the Sultan of Turkey.

how in India news travels with rapidity to every point of the compass without any such adventitious aids as press and platform. The news of Mr Gandhi, his words and his acts, flew over the country with the zest and thrill of an arrived millennium. For Mr Gandhi was already known by name to the masses as the captain of the oppressed in South Africa and as the friend of the poor in Champaran and Kaira. Wherever he toured, immense crowds went to hear his strange gospel, so uncompromising and unpractical in its idealism and yet so instinctively compelling to something deep in the mind as truer than what commonly passed for common sense. Here was a man who rang true in his words, a man in flesh and blood who was genuine enough to put into practice his own unpractical idealism. All this, not in reasoned cogency, but in indefinite sensations, very firmly gripped the mind and heart and, even more, the imagination of three hundred million people. The National Movement henceforth was the movement of the entire nation.

Whatever the quality of Mr Gandhi as a publicist, his immense power was always uplifting when it was directed toward religion and society. This was not the first occasion when the Indian National Movement was directed by a prophet. The man called the Father of Modern India[1] was himself a prophet. It was quite in the fitness of things Indian that the National Movement should once again come under the guidance of a prophet. But

[1] Ram Mohan Roy.

never did another prophet wield such power as he! If measure is to be taken of the immensity of his power, listen to the songs of the beggar in the street corner, the songs wherewith children gladden their parents in the quiet evening hour, the songs which so frequently interlude a drama, whatever the plot, to stir up the flagging enthusiasm of the audience. Listen to the meaning and the diction of the songs. It is always in the language of the masses and it always conveys the weightiest truths in the Mahatma's gospel. It is only such that fetch the pice to the beggar's bowl, the kiss to the child's cheeks, and bring down the house more surely than the play itself. So it is to-day; it was intensely so in that period. The outburst of new literature and art, in songs, dramas, romance, music, and painting, as a newer wave in the tide already swelling through the whole past century, was a distinct feature in this epoch. The crest of this wave is already down; but it has given to the whole of the literary and æsthetic movement a very definite ethical purpose as much as it has deepened the passion for national culture.

This implanting of 'ethical purpose' into the very core of the National Movement is an achievement of Mr Gandhi, in virtue of his practically unlimited power. At his word, it may be said, some twenty thousand men of university education and good social standing went to jail in three months. Even that is nothing compared with the stand which caste people have been making on behalf

of the 'Untouchables.' What the social reformers had nurtured with such sacrifice and labour for a hundred years was forced into sudden fruition by the intense heat of the Mahatma's passion for social justice. How dare we treat any fellow-man as 'untouchable'? he asked. The scales fell from the eyes of millions, and in remorse and recompense caste people went to work on behalf of the 'suppressed' classes. Travancore is possibly the worst sinner in this line. Even the shadow of the outcaste contaminates. They are not permitted to walk on certain roads in the vicinity of a temple. To set this right, caste people went to jail in scores. The *satyagraha* campaign was persisted in from day to day for several months, until the new Queen, herself a most remarkable product of the new age, signalised her ascent to power by removing with one stroke of her pen the disability which had lain on the 'outcastes' for no one knows how many millenniums. It was an act of astounding courage, and yet her subjects accepted it in silence and are adjusting themselves to the new situation. It is one of those things which indicate how deep in the recesses of society the living fires of the National Movement are surging in transmuting currents.

Mr Natarajan wrote in his *Indian Social Reformer* at the time that Mr Gandhi had in three years done more to bring Jesus Christ to India than all the missionaries with all their magnificent undertakings had accomplished in three centuries. That was true, very true, when

literally understood. But one has to reckon that Mr Gandhi himself and the entirety of the India which responded to him are the products of the National Movement, the comprehensive nature, causes and issues of which we have been trying to analyse. Many are the factors whereby the religious life and thought of India was being readjusted. As in the matter of social justice, where Mr Gandhi acted as the fire to transmute the material already in the crucible, so also here the utter selfless courage of Mr Gandhi stated for the whole nation the terms of new valuation for all things, to which point of judgment a thousand agencies and sufferings had contributed through a century and more. He stated that new standard in terms of Jesus Christ. By his own life, which was being resolutely squared to the Sermon on the Mount, he was entitled to point to such a standard in all simplicity as the supreme criterion of private and public ethic, of national and international affairs. Here, there and everywhere, in the press and on the platform, it became the regular thing for Indian leaders to cite the authority of Christ with reference to every issue handled. In the 'Beach meetings' on the Madras sands, where thousands came together to hear favourite orators, in their severest and hottest condemnation of the British Government, there were in these days almost always reference to Christ and His teaching. One of the most damaging indictments of the Government was to say that it was "unchristian." When Mr

Gandhi was tried and convicted, the thoughts of the millions of India turned instinctively to Pilate and Calvary. One heard it constantly in private conversation or in public print. It was a veritable Passion Week for the whole nation. There were undoubtedly striking points of similarity in the external circumstances. But the inner meaning of what was happening was signified in a strange remark which an eminent Brahmin lawyer friend made to me at that time in the Madras Bar Library. He said: "Christ is the only hope of Hinduism." He did not say "India," but "Hinduism." He meant it. He meant 'Hinduism to stay and go forward to further strength.' To him, as to every Hindu, Hinduism is not merely religion but the whole culture distinctive of India. He had come to realise that the living elements in his wonderfully vital religion and culture were those which were consonant with the Spirit of Christ or could so emanate in the life and thought of the people. It was a momentary flashlight on the profundities of the subconscious even more than the conscious part of Indian religion at that stage. In a moment of tense feeling he involuntarily voiced in categorical form what millions meant, though they knew it not, when they said to one another in bated breath: "What a Karma! Even like Jesus Christ!"

On the 10th of March 1922 the contest ended, which had been by no means always unequal. With the imprisonment of Mr Gandhi a definite period closes and another begins.

CHAPTER VII

GREAT BRITAIN AND INDIA OVERSEAS

Manimegalai, a Tamil epic, written before the Angles and Saxons colonised Britain, has a very interesting episode. The heroine goes off to Java on a holiday just to see her friends. It was then a ten-day voyage; as far as it is from Bombay to Aden in these days of steam-power. *Manimegalai* was itself only the sequel of *Silappadigaram*, which recounts in considerable detail the maritime activities of the Tamil kings and their subjects. Recently when the University of Madras launched an ambitious lexicon of the Tamil language, somewhat on the lines of 'Murray's Oxford,' the chief lexicographer collected a glossary of current 'maritime words,' terms signifying many kinds of vessels and their different parts, many actions on the water, and many things peculiar to prolonged life on the ocean; they numbered hundreds, and for almost every one of these terms his pundits found authorities from standard Tamil literature. A wise saw which every Tamil boy learns by rote in his first year at school and which is attributed to an authoress of the first century of the Christian era, says, "Speed on the waves of the ocean in search of

wealth." To the Dravidian peoples the sea was in all the ages a connecting link with the islands to the south and south-east of India, and also to the mainland adjoining them from Burma all round to Siam and Cambodia. Even Africa was, unbelievable as it may seem, a frequent resort. The monsoons bore no terrors: on the other hand they were the regular aids for the voyage to and fro, the south-western monsoon taking the boats to Africa and the north-eastern monsoon helping them to return home. In a Greek papyrus of the second century, found at Oxyrhynchus, in Egypt, occurs a conversation which Dr Hultzsch has identified with Kanarese.[1] Even Imperial Rome itself was familiar with the Indian merchant and the Indian scholar.[2]

The interdict on sea-voyage was a comparatively recent development, and it left unaffected much of the maritime activities of Southern India. It was an Aryan conceit, established generally in Northern India from about the eleventh century, when Mohammedans overthrew Hindu kingdoms; and observed only by the Brahmins and the Brahminising communities of the Southern parts. When the Social Reform Movement came, this interdict was the first and the easiest to go.

The maritime activities of Indians in those remote times were apparently at the impulse of

[1] *Vide Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1904, p. 399.

[2] *Vide* Vincent Smith's *Early History of India*, 2nd Edn., pp. 400-401.

adventure or a desire for conquest or because of missionary zeal. The culture of many peoples across the sea to the south and the south-east to this day testifies to this fact. Not Buddhism only, but the Sivism which overcame it in the Tamil land reached out to these islands. Even the Mohammedan conquest of Java was the missionary enterprise of the Tamil Marakayars of Negapatam and Karaikal. Islam was preached in Java in Tamil, and in many particulars it is sustained there in that language.

While the stream of traders and bankers and religious teachers flowing forth and back across the Indian Ocean has never been interrupted, it cannot be claimed that the great maritime enterprise of India, for whose power and extent in the early centuries of the Christian era we have so much evidence, continued in any strength as an effective part of the life of the people as a whole. It was sadly crippled, owing chiefly to the decadence and fall of the Hindu kingdoms of South India. For a thousand years there was but a trickle where there had been apparently a great volume of living streams. And when the rivers begin to flow out once more, it is a very different thing. No longer is it due to an overflow from the very abundance of healthful life and vigour, as for pure adventure or commerce and conquest; but now it is largely a sad pilgrimage of the poor, who are constrained to go far from everything they hold dear under the dire necessity to earn their ordinary food. The abolition of

slavery[1] created an urgent demand for labour in many parts of the world, chiefly in the growing colonies whereby Britain was just then expanding. Indians were more desirable than any other Asiatic people, partly because of the quality of the Indian as a labourer and partly also because India was more negotiable as being under British dominance. And so the Indian coolie went out to meet the British planter in lands two to six thousand miles from the home of either. The coolie was quickly followed by the trader. But coolie and trader were both of the same race as the adventurers of a thousand years ago; and when the coolie had terminated his indenture and the trader had got thoroughly settled in business, they felt themselves just Indians and colonists, with the blood of India stirring in mind and memory, in heart and hand. Simplicity of life, frugality of habits, careful organisation of business, enduring perseverance, an enormous capacity for forbearance and endurance—these were some of the factors that paved for them a winning way to success. The Indian overseas is not a saint. But it is undeniable that he has many qualities which go to make a good colonist. In fact, much of the trouble is due to this: that he makes such a disconcertingly good citizen!

We have said that the great bulk of emigrants were now labourers. Let it be stated immediately that the Indian by no means entered all the

[1] In 1833 in the British Empire. In 1848 in the French Colonies.

colonies and dominions as a coolie. He did so only in a few of them: in the Dominions of Australia, New Zealand and Canada, it was never so. In East Africa he pioneered development in many ways long before a Britisher set foot in it. Nevertheless, the fact remains that there is not one colony or dominion where the presence of the Indian does not involve a problem, very difficult of solution.

The problems vary greatly in character and degree, from New Zealand, where it is merely formal, to South and East Africa, where it is a constant cause of grave anxiety. But the fact of the problem is the primary point for our present purpose. The connection of Britain and India is not only on the soil of India. Taking the British people at their own value and remembering that Indians have also been, and have again started to be, a world-roving people, the connection of the two races is of world-wide scope. Considering also the fact of the British Empire on which the sun never sets, and remembering that India has been described by the Premiers of the Empire in official resolution as a "full member" of their Commonwealth, the problem of Indians overseas presents a challenge that must be met seriously and honourably. The Prime Minister of Great Britain, addressing his compeers from overseas at the Imperial Conference of 1921, stated the situation in no uncertain terms:

> No greater calamity could overtake the world than any further accentuation of the world's divisions upon the lines of race. The British Empire has done signal

service to humanity in bridging those divisions in the past; the loyalty of the King-Emperor's Asiatic peoples is the proof. To depart from that policy, to fail in that duty, would not only greatly increase the dangers of international war; it would divide the British Empire against itself. Our foreign policy can never arrange itself in any sense upon the differences of race and civilisation between East and West. It would be fatal to the Empire.

The fundamental problem is not merely economic. It is thought to be such: so much so that in some quarters Labour is opposed to Capital on this issue. But the bogey of the economic menace can be laid in more ways than one. The Reciprocity Resolution of 1913[1] is one way: by a restriction or stoppage of immigration from time to time the standard could be constantly evened up. Statutory prescription of minimum wage is another way. A generous policy of education and social fellowship is the best of ways. These, and more such, thoroughly practicable and effectively suitable to local conditions, which must suggest themselves to the publicist who honestly seeks for constructive solutions, when applied severally or jointly, should certainly secure primarily that psychological condition which is the first necessity to combat every ghost that arises from fear and goes to feed prejudice.

It is said 'that the situation is complicated because of China and Japan, and that any discrimination in favour of Indians may possibly be resented by those Great Powers.' This attitude

[1] *Vide* Appendix D for text of Resolution.

one can understand when the Supreme Court of the United States declares that an Indian has no more rights of citizenship than any other Asiatic. But when the same reason is alleged by a responsible statesman in any British Dominion, it is a strange confession of his inability to conceive of the distinctive genius of the British Commonwealth. Is not the logical basis of such an attitude that the British Empire is first and last a White Commonwealth, in whose solidarity a coloured people has no possible share? Any such thesis may not be present in categorical terms in the mind of those who hesitate to discriminate in favour of India. To such minds a very great difference will happen when India attains to the full measure of Dominion status.

A truer consideration is the problem of the native African peoples, their present interests and their future development, as they may be affected by the presence of an Indian element in the population. One cannot refrain from remarking that the conscience of the white settler has apparently discovered itself in this regard when the Indian problem became acute! Dr Norman Leys lays the situation bare in his careful study of Kenya. According to him 10,000 square miles have been alienated to Europeans and populated by 1893 'occupied' Europeans, whereas 5000 square miles are "reserved somewhat precariously" to 2,000,000 Africans. Nor can we forget the history of the treatment accorded to Africans in the south and elsewhere

on the Continent by the various European peoples. On all grounds of humanity and even of sheer justice the interests of Africans need to be placed foremost in all considerations for the development of the Continent. But the argument that the Indian will handicap the solution any more than any other people of any colour or nationality is an assumption which is utterly lacking in humour. Indians are just as much human as the rest of humanity. Burma, just next door to us, holds ample testimony to the thoroughness with which the Indian can exploit a native population over whom he has any advantage. The Indian is gentler, more persuasive and possibly subtler than the white settler; but the fate of the native is as problematic with the Indian as with the Britisher or any other people supposed to be in any degree 'superior.' Let us not throw stones, who live all of us in glass houses.

Now that the conscience *has* been awakened in all of us, it is obviously to the advantage of all concerned that we co-operate in an honest enterprise of well-thought-out helpfulness, each of us helping in the way we are best fitted to help. Mr C. F. Andrews, than whom there is no truer friend of the African, than whom no foreigner has a deeper knowledge of the Indian, is firmly of the conviction that the Indian *can* help the African in many ways in which the European cannot. Mr Max Yergan,[1] the Student Movement

[1] An American-Negro gentleman who himself worked for some time as a Y.M.C.A. Secretary in India before going to Africa.

Secretary in South Africa, is of the opinion that American-Negro Secretaries, after two or three years' experience of work in India among students and citizens, will be able to contribute very constructively in the solution of the three-cornered situation in that Dominion. It may well be that a new and rewarding common platform could be found in Africa between the British and the Indians if they could rise to a serious programme of service to the African. Certainly there could not be a more urgent or more neglected duty waiting to be done by either race.

The British connection with India is on trial in the contacts of the two races outside their own countries. Even more, the categories of the human basis of the British Commonwealth are under trial. Is the Commonwealth to be a loose federation of autonomous peoples, linked together somewhat more closely, possibly, for common economic and defence purposes, than the nations who are in the League at Geneva? In such an arrangement India, like any other 'member' of the Commonwealth, present or future, may of course hold a position by itself in regard to such things as migration, open to adjustment by direct negotiation with the other member or members concerned, as, for instance, what is happening at the present moment (1927) with South Africa. Or does the Commonwealth aim at a closer solidarity, with some measure of Imperial citizenship involving obligations as well as rights? Can such a plane of grace be reached

by mortals? To-day, apparently, it is vaguely assumed that it can be. But I am not aware of anything being done consciously toward bringing it about. It is not characteristic of the British mind to plan so far ahead. Still the British Empire of to-day is the one human arrangement which can conceivably develop into such a real Commonwealth. If it fails, the problem is settled for humanity—in the negative.

But even on such terms as the League of Nations, the Indian problem abroad needs more conscientious attention at Whitehall than has hitherto been vouchsafed to it. The League of Nations is by virtue of its Instrument of Constitution appointed Protector of Minorities. For the discharge of this onerous and delicate office special machinery has been provided for the League. So far, many scores of petitions have been dealt with by its Secretariat, of which it was necessary to have five considered by the Council as a whole. In every one of those cases the grievances have been rectified in one way or another. What is there analogous in Whitehall with reference to the many 'minorities' within her Empire over which the sun never sets?

It will be out of place to describe here in detail the machinery or the methods which in this manner enable the League to achieve a measure of success where, but for it, there would have been absolutely no remedy. But it throws important sidelights upon the problem of the Indian abroad, and so it must be presented in broad outline.

The problem of minorities is nothing new in the history of the human race. Migration, colonisation, commerce and conquest have frequently brought about 'minorities' in the household of nations. But what is a 'minority'? In answer to this question it may seem necessary to ask the counter-question: "But what is nationality?" But the fact of nationality is undeniable, whatever the precise definition may be. A 'minority' is clearly a group of people with a solidarity of their own who find themselves unable to assimilate easily to the nation within whose home they have taken up permanent residence. So understood it is not difficult to realise that the problem of minorities has been a fruitful cause of persecutions, massacres, revolts, revolutions, invasions, wars, and sometimes even the ruin of powerful kingdoms and empires. An irritant so fruitful of calamity as this did not go without attention in past centuries. Solution was sought along two lines: (*a*) Internal guarantees were exacted from time to time at national crises from great powers, as from Austria in 1867, from Hungary in 1868, from Turkey in 1839, in 1856, in 1876, and in 1908. (*b*) Treaties were entered into between great powers, in which one of the contracting parties agreed to protect minorities in which the other party was specially interested. Typical of this was Russia's claim to champion 'orthodox' communities wherever they were. There were seven such treaties before 1815 and eight between 1815 and 1914. The verdict of history is most

unsatisfactory in regard to either of these methods of attempting a solution. In a very few cases the 'internal guarantees' were observed, but in the vast majority of instances they were flagrantly ignored. As for the 'treaties,' they generally broke down in the matter of interpretation; for there was nowhere a machinery to decide between conflicting interpretations, nor was there any sanction to enforce admitted obligations.

It is evident that these lessons of history were well laid to heart when the League was asked to protect minorities. In the first place ten different treaties signed at Versailles laid the obligation on certain countries to embody into their fundamental constitutions the sacred obligation to respect the rights and interests of specified minorities; and it was specifically laid down that such provisions could not be amended except with the explicit permission of the League. That in itself might not have proved more effective than the old 'internal guarantees.' Accordingly, a semi-judicial procedure was laid down and suitable machinery set up to deal with all problems as they should arise. Five distinct agencies can be moved in the matter in certain well-thought-out order of procedure; the Secretariat, the Committee of Three, the Council, the Permanent Court of International Justice, and the Assembly. A competent observer analyses the intangible forces which contribute toward success in the following words:

The positive action of the Council has resulted in no fully satisfactory immediate remedial measures. But the

constant pressure of international opinion, focussed on the policy of the minority Powers, thanks to the publicity of the proceedings before the Council, the Court, and above all of the Assembly, combined with the inconspicuous but persistent friendly warnings, advice and suggestions which the governments concerned are constantly receiving from Geneva, have undoubtedly exercised a moderating, as well as a constructively pacifying influence.

Year after year the representatives of these governments come before the Assembly to show how just, how liberal, how generous are their intentions, their institutions, and their policy with respect to their minorities. If so doing they rarely convince their audiences, they achieve a far more useful result: they oblige themselves, their governments, and even to some degree their parliaments, to endeavour to live up to the standards which in the face of the world they insistently declare to be theirs. The often noted fact that these representatives, on their return from Geneva, are more liberal than their governments at home, and these in turn more liberal than their parliaments and officials, less exposed to the pressure of international opinion, is a clear indication of the hopeful possibilities of the action of the League.

Suppress the League and you liberate instincts of domination, which are at present at least restrained. Fortify the League, on the other hand, and you bridle and repress these dangerous instincts which threaten not only the welfare of millions of Europeans, but thereby also the peace of the world.[1]

Where, in all the world-wide Empire of Britain, is an arrangement devised with similar care to

[1] *Vide The Problem of Minorities*, pp. 340, 341. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Pamphlet No. 222, September 1926. To this pamphlet I am indebted for the facts presented here regarding this subject.

protect the many millions of non-British peoples whose destinies Britain has thought fit to determine? Not merely protection of person and property but equality in civil and political rights is insisted on as the irreducible minimum by the League. The situation in the Empire is even more serious, with equality of economic and social opportunities demanded and not merely equality of political rights. Every year makes the problem more intense and more grave. Still Whitehall stays unmoved. As Sir Courtenay Ilbert said in 1883: "The only weapon in the hands of the Government of India to safeguard Indian interests is the weapon of persuasion." And all history in every land and most particularly the history of the Indian problem abroad demonstrates "the absolute inadequacy of mere persuasion to change self-interest into humanitarian altruism." Whitehall knows this full well and still Whitehall stays unmoved. It would seem that the nations outside the privilege of the British connection and directly related to the League have a far better chance for justice by mobilisation of at least the public opinion of the world to concentrate on a particular grievance. It ought not to be so. It is not so everywhere. Need it be so anywhere in the Commonwealth? Is it realised that we are still only in the beginning of a period when interracial problems of many kinds will develop with rapidity and acuteness? If we cannot rise above the plane of the League let us at least come up to the standard of the League. Let us constitute

a suitable machinery which can command the confidence of all concerned, and let us be enabled to emulate the League in the care, the vigilance, the wisdom, the judicial integrity and the even-handed impartiality of its activity.

The problem pertains more vitally to the British Commonwealth than even to India. If the British connection with non-British races is to endure, it must endure because it cannot be surpassed.

CHAPTER VIII

TO-DAY

To interpret the facts of a 'present situation' in their proper proportion of importance is always a difficult task; to attempt to forecast even the immediate future is to rush in where angels fear to tread. Still, there will be no indulgence shown to one who ventures on a study like this, if he omits to bring it up to date, and refuses to peer with what temerity he can into the secrets of to-morrow.

The 'present situation' in India, with reference to such a dominant fact as the British connection, is apparently all laid open before even the casual observer. There is much public activity and there is much talk about it. But our task is not to chronicle but to interpret. We must select a few of the phenomena which really matter, in the sense that they immediately concern the vital factors which lie at the foundations of national being, and which determine its course amid the events which come in contact with it on the surface. On this basis we may speak briefly with reference to five matters: (I) The Reforms; (II) Rural Reconstruction; (III) the Social Revolution; (IV) the Intercommunal Conflict; and (V) the Economic Readjustment.

I

We came across 'the Reforms' in a previous chapter,[1] but we turned away from any discussion of the Reforms Scheme, or of the results of it as an experiment, in order to describe the spiritual history of India in the years immediately following 'the Reforms'—a history which had, curiously enough, little to do with 'the Reforms,' compared with what it had to do with Edwin Montagu and Mahatma Gandhi.

But 'the Reforms' were by no means a dead letter on the Statute Book. They were far too important for this. Also, the Moderate Party,[2] few in numbers but including some of the most able and experienced publicists in the country, were determined "to give the Reforms an honest trial." 'The Reforms' would certainly have had a glorious chance, if a malicious genius like the proverbial Narada in Indian mythology had not thrown down from a clear sky the Rowlatt[3] bomb charged with pestilential poison-gas. Nevertheless, amid the most disconcerting atmosphere and handicaps, there was enough done, even in the first legislatures, to give 'the Reforms' a chance to penetrate the life of the people. In the next three years the experiment had a much clearer road before it; though the recovery of mutual

[1] Chapter VI.
[2] 'Liberals,' they call themselves now.
[3] *Vide*, p. 133.

confidence, even after these seven years, is a guarded and hesitating process. But we must here pause to say a word as to what is meant by 'the Reforms.'

'The Reforms' are a deliberate instalment in the fulfilment of the policy declared in open Parliament, on 20th August 1917, which promised:

> The increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to a progressive realisation of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire.

The main feature of this instalment was what has come to be much talked of as Dyarchy. The responsibilities of Government are divided into two sections, one of which is 'transferred' to the care of Ministers more or less responsible to the electorate, and the other is 'reserved,' that is, handled as heretofore by the Civil Service, which is not so responsible. The success of such a totally novel scheme is obviously dependent on the measure of mutual confidence and co-operation, on many personal equations, on the elasticity of financial adjustments, and on many factors which have an indirect bearing on relationships. And some of these indirect factors have powerful influence over the whole situation. Among them is the vexed question of 'Indianisation'—which represents the practical effort made by Government to realise the first part of the declared policy, "the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration."

In 1922, as the first Councils under 'the Reforms' were finishing their tenure, the Muddiman Committee sat to investigate the working of the Dyarchic system, and nothing could be more striking than the heavy criticism to which Dyarchy was subjected by those who had wrested out of it a very substantial measure of success.

While Dyarchy has been much in the limelight it is not by any means the only problem created by 'the Reforms'; perhaps not even the most important of them. 'The Reforms' were an experiment in democracy; the first real experiment of an Oriental people[1] in the Anglo-Saxon type of democracy. But where is the democratic method being tested? Not so much in the imperial and provincial legislatures (where it is strait-jacketed by Dyarchy), as in 'Local Self-government'; *i.e.*, in the municipal corporations which administer the cities and towns and in the Taluk[2] and District Boards which administer the countryside. The measure of responsibility entrusted to these 'local' bodies is very substantial, and they rule large populations.[3] It has been so from the time of Lord Ripon, the eighties of last century. These local bodies are in fact such as might very well have proved a training-ground for all those qualities

[1] Not forgetting the so-called Republic of China.

[2] The district is divided into 'Taluks' for convenience of administration.

[3] Anywhere from fifteen to two hundred thousand people in a town, and from one and a half to three million people in a district.

of self-restraint, mutual confidence and leadership indispensable for democracy and for those habits of study, inquiry and personal effort which can alone make democracy progressive. What the real fate of these local bodies was has been indicated in a previous page.[1] 'The Reforms' took the biggest leap in this matter. The franchise was enormously widened, all provisions for securing an 'official majority' or even for ensuring 'official influence' were practically abandoned and the whole matter of local self-government was 'transferred' to the responsible Ministries.

The effect has been dramatic. It is not unlike the effect that the Reform Act had over English politics in the middle of last century. The monopoly of what was hitherto the governing class was shattered. In England the middle classes forced the doors open to claim a share in the powers hitherto held close by the landed aristocracy. In India, the leadership of the English-educated intelligentsia is being challenged by the vernacular-educated[2] land-owners and merchants. It is undoubtedly a healthy change. The stakes in the country are heavily with the latter. Should a knowledge of English be indispensable for local self-government, the normal growth of democracy in the country would be seriously, even ridiculously retarded, and the adaptation of it to the genius of India would

[1] Chapter IV, p. 77 *seq.*

[2] 'Vernacular' is the technical term for an Indian language as distinct from English.

be rendered almost impossible. The balance of power is certainly shifting in a promising direction.

But there is a serious problem involved. The 'new-politician,' whose education has not gone as far as the university, is utterly ill-prepared for the responsibilities he is assuming. Even the English-educated man whom he is replacing seldom understood local self-government in terms of the democratic method. He had had no model other than bureaucracy—the cold officialised work of the expert to whom lay-partnership was an embarrassment and a nuisance. Much less is the new aspirant to power acquainted with the very elements of the democratic method. He had much greater chance of a suitable experience in the ancient village organisations, now so rapidly falling into disuse, than in the example of his English-educated predecessors.

The Swarajist Party claims to devote itself to 'reconstruction work.' If the claim could be carried out in practice with a tenth of the fervour with which it is advocated on the platform, it would concentrate the mind of the new-politician on service, and educate the general public to demand a reasonable standard of service from its representatives. But outside Bengal, where the excellent programme of C. R. Das is in some measure attempted by way of medical relief and night schools, the Swarajist too exclusively confines his attention to Khaddar.[1] Mr Gandhi does, from

[1] The movement for popularising hand-spun and hand-woven cloth.

time to time, range over a wider field, and tries to awaken the conscience of the new-politician to such things as sanitation, disease, impure water, usury and litigiousness—an example which is not followed as it might be. As for the Ministries in power at the Provincial Headquarters, they have not really awakened to the gravity of the situation. What is worse, some of them have not been above exploiting the local bodies in narrow party interests, appointing men to them without any reference to their suitability for the administration of their localities. In one province, the return of the Ministry to power after its first innings has been openly ascribed to the assiduity and tact with which local bodies had been cultivated for party purposes. Howsoever that may be, the attention given to the training of the new-politician in civic responsibility is practically *nil*. Constitutional advance and reform on a provincial or national scale still loom large in the public mind dangerously beyond their true proportions in view of the real importance of local self-government, whereon the very foundations of democracy (especially an Indian type of democracy) have to be built in solidity and in detail.

When 'the Reforms' come on the anvil again two years hence, much of the quality of the future advance will depend on the attention given to the district. At present the tree is very much lost in the wood.

II

In refreshing contrast to the neglect which permits local self-government to drift as it might, we note the real awakening that is everywhere apparent, as regards the fundamental importance of the rural problem. One of the chief conditions which have brought about this awakening is the phenomenal rapidity with which the Co-operative Movement has spread in the country. Starting from nothing in 1906, in twenty years it has achieved a record of 71,608 societies, with 2,630,000 members, handling a capital which in the aggregate approaches five crores (50,000,000) of rupees.[1] The Co-operative Movement in India is open to serious criticisms; but the blessings it has already conferred, direct as well as indirect, are of very high value. Among its indirect blessings are to be specially reckoned two: (1) it has succeeded in calling out an increasing number of non-official citizens, to devote to the welfare of the poor some of their time, thought and energies; and (2) it has brought to the general knowledge and attention of the country the deplorable condition of the rural population and the urgency of it as a national problem.

Legislative provision is being made to resuscitate rural organisation, as far as the altered situation can permit. Rural studies and surveys are being made by some of the universities and by

[1] Three and a half million pounds.

some of the leaders, official and non-official, and these are enabling the publicist and the citizen generally to realise the complexity as also the urgency of the problem. The success of the rural welfare work undertaken by voluntary organisations, such as the Y.M.C.A., the Servants of India Society, and the Ramakrishna Mission, is constantly pointing to the challenging evidence that the response of the villager is real, and that toward the solution of the problem an effective contribution can be made by every patriot who cares. The missionary organisations are meanwhile contributing yet another fundamental factor by experiments in rural education. With the freedom from official shackles which a mission can enjoy, with the wider world-range which (unlike the official educational expert) the missionary can command for his educational models, with the quiet, persistent and disinterested labour which the missionary and his staff can devote, there are emerging certain models of education which promise to answer the peculiar needs of the Indian villager.

Possibly the most important discovery of the social worker is, that if the Indian villager is to be helped at all, it can be done only (1) by a comprehensive service directed toward his every need that can be reached;[1] (2) that all these

[1] Redemption from debt—increase of earning power through farming reform, subsidiary industries, joint purchase and sale, etc.—litigation and arbitration—health and sanitation—recreation—mass education—etc.

lines of service should be undertaken simultaneously; (3) that it is best done by non-official agencies or volunteers supplementing and utilising the work of the official experts; (4) that such service should be financially and morally encouraged and supported by the local self-governing bodies; and (5) that the non-official agencies and volunteers engaged in such service should devote careful and vigilant attention for a long enough time until the village is really able to manage its own affairs. This whole analysis is really the one single problem of education, understanding 'education' in a wide significance. But it should be education which primarily enables the Indian village to reconstruct its corporate life, whereby it can continuously educate itself to keep pace with the whole nation in the career on which it is definitely launched.

III

The social revolt, which the inception of Western standards provoked at the time of Ram Mohan Roy, after passing through many phases of development, has now in these days settled down into an irresistible revolution within the vast Hindu Society, from its submerged foundations to its proudest pinnacles. At the bottom of the scale there is by now a universal awareness of injustice in the minds of the 'suppressed classes,' an awareness which expresses itself in various

degrees of resentment and assertiveness. The importance of it may be realised when it is remembered that these 'suppressed classes' number fifty millions and that their place in the social economy is the all-important one of the primary producer. The revolt of the non-Brahmin middle classes, chiefly in the South but also extended in the West, was in its early stages one of united defence. When the monopoly against which it was directed was broken through, the movement recoiled on itself and every community of which the conglomerate non-Brahmin populace is made up is now deliberately organising itself on a basis of equal rights and opportunities. The secret spring of all these revolts is the same; the inequalities accepted for ages as laws of nature are now resented, and there is impatient and aggressive effort to obtain recognition and to make up for lost opportunity.

Even more important than this, and far subtler, is the entrance into the Hindu mind of the evil leaven of individualism, which, if left unchecked, will entirely sweep away the *dharma*[1] of social obligation, which is an inheritance from forty centuries of an ancestry disciplined along lines of social solidarity. The regal sonship of every human soul, derived from the common Father of all, who knows no difference in His ambition for all His children—this is a rich, ennobling, thrilling message from the Christian West. In the wake of it, however, selfishness finds it an easy matter,

[1] The standard of duty as written in the conscience.

even as in the so-called 'Christian' nations of the West, to exalt individualism above social obligation. In India the spiritual development of human personality has been deliberately designed in terms of social solidarity, and in consequence social obligation is laid on the individual as of central importance.[1] The new emphasis on personality is warranted to operate as a corrective to the exaggerated advantages which society has taken over the individual. But where individualism sinks down insidiously to undermine the conscience in this regard, there is every danger of a devastating social revolution leading to the *adharma*[2] and confusion so constantly held up as a warning by the seers of India.

As a matter of fact there are only too many signs that some such poison has begun its work. This is clearly visible in connection with the unemployment situation with which, through various causes, the English-educated young man is faced. Many thousands of these, in a sense the cream of the young manhood of India, after faithfully doing all their part in equipping themselves with the general or professional education available in the country (and in quite a few cases in Britain or America) have to wait for months and even (a few) years before they can find a chance to earn an honest livelihood. And when once work is obtained, the whole mentality is bent

[1] *Vide* Chapter III.

[2] Collapse of the sense of moral restraints and duties in the mind of the people.

toward holding it secure, and in making the most of it for furtherance of income. The struggle is desperately keen. It is already a raw and relentless competition between man and man, like nature red in tooth and claw.

The tragedy of the situation cannot be understood except in terms of the peculiar social organisation of India. Hitherto the individual had a claim on his group for his livelihood. The caste afforded facilities for his learning a trade, the family helped to give him a start, and, while emulation within the guild was perfectly possible, the economic condition of the whole group, and therefore all its members, was practically guaranteed by all the other groups.[1] This whole arrangement is now rapidly dissolving. The individual feels no longer under necessity to learn the trade of his native guild and none other. This freedom loses for him the economic protection of a group. In fact, this freedom having come to be availed of by many thousands from every group, there is inevitable dislocation of the economic adjustment between group and group, without which no single guild can hope to protect its members. The educated Indian young man, then, has sown the wind and reaped the whirlwind. The sowing of the wind was in the situation unavoidable; but no one realised that the consequence would be the whirlwind. It is now impossible to go back. The only possibility is to reconstruct society. But such reconstruction

[1] In extreme difficulty, as in famine or war, one could emigrate.

is fraught with the most painful tragedies in many thousands of homes.

For the readjustment is not merely economic. It is social and spiritual. The economic aspect has been cited, because it is comparatively easier to understand. The deeper aspects make the situation very much more poignant. The individual has lost protection; on the other hand he finds it impossible to divest himself of those million strands which bind his heart to his group. They are the very fibre of his Hindu being. It is well that he feels so. It is the one human hope that there may be a readjustment such as will save India from the hideous unfettered competition which threatens Western society.

The interdict on foreign travel went long ago. Inter-dining is becoming more prevalent every day. With the spread of female education, which is now securing a satisfactory rate of progress, all the barriers that still remain will vanish. Where men are to-day, women will be to-morrow. The Indian woman rules the family in social matters, has always done so, and will ever do so. All doors are now open, and ideally every one has the same opportunity. The classes who had been suppressed for centuries, wholly or in part, are already demonstrating that they can also climb to heights of culture. Given time, the present barriers based on birth will become practically meaningless. But is such a consummation saved from the evils concomitant with a heartless individualism? Will it consider also the millions

fated to lose opportunities for no fault of their own? The example of the West is not very hopeful. Freedom has arrived, and is bound to work its way. In the consequent readjustment, India can emerge in a better condition than the West only if she is faithful to her own inheritance as well.

IV

The economic factor in the foregoing analysis of the social situation will, in a measure, interpret one aspect of the intercommunal tension, which is now such a glaring phenomenon in India, especially after the inception of 'the Reforms.' Fellow-feeling within each community is still so very strong that it frequently operates as a determining factor in the assignment of positions of any emolument or influence. In the three years of my stay in a Government Secretariat, the Anglo-Indian[1] head of my department brought in eleven men of his own community in defiance of all considerations of qualifications or seniority. When I acted as chairman of a municipal corporation I found that the entire municipal staff was Brahmin, chiefly of a particular sect, down to the sanitary maistry, who had to see to the cleanliness of the slaughter-house.[2] More recently, when 'non-Brahmins' came into power, a young friend of mine, a brilliant graduate in

[1] 'Eurasian' was the term at that time.

[2] A Brahmin can never enter such a place without losing caste.

mathematics, could not get admission into any of the three colleges in my province which train teachers, for the only sin that he was born a Brahmin. No community in India is exempt from this feeling—not the Mussulmans—not even the Britisher, in regard to what he deems good enough for his community. This fact is the motive behind that intense anxiety with which almost every one in India works to secure as much as possible of 'what is going' for members of one's own community. It is the ancient feeling of guild-solidarity. In former days social economy adjusted also inter-communal relationships, and in fact eliminated intercommunal rivalry, by fixing occupation by birth. Now that any community can do anything, the only protection that the individual has against unfettered competition is through the preference which may come through communal fellow-feeling. It is therefore to the obvious interest of every one that as many as possible of his own community secure place and influence. And the result is that competition is shifted from the individual to the community.

But the economic explanation does not exhaust the significance of the unfortunate situation in the country between Hindus and Mohammedans, which is the most threatening of all such rivalries in the country. The seventy million Mohammedans constitute a 'minority,' in the sense in which we used the term in a previous chapter.[1] The test applied to a minority by the League of

[1] Chapter VII, pp. 159, *seq.*

Nations is 'nationality.' So long as a minority belongs to a different culture from what is admitted as 'national' to the country in which the minority lives, there are only two alternatives before it; either it should get entirely assimilated into the national culture; or it should entirely identify itself with the national interests of the country. The Jews in Poland are a fifth of its population, the same ratio as the Mohammedans bear to the people of India. There are also other analogies in the Balkans, in Turkey, and in America. A study of these will reinforce the thesis that there is no third alternative. The Mohammedans of India cannot be assimilated into Hindu culture. In fact they are the largest of the Islamic units in the world, and are in some ways more intense in Islamic feeling than any other unit. The solution of the problem would therefore seem clearly to lie in one direction. Do the Mohammedans of India "feel truly and really Indian?"

It is a question which cuts both ways. Mr Gandhi is popularly supposed to be defective in 'political sense.' But he was the first to go to the root of this matter when he led Hindus to identify themselves with their Mohammedan compatriots in the Khilafat Movement. The Khilafat meant absolutely nothing to the Hindu; but to the Mussulman it was of intense importance, and that should be enough to determine the policy of the Hindu. The question then is before both communities, and not before one of them only. If

Mohammedans cannot be assimilated, and if they are still to "feel Indian," the demand on the wisdom, the tact, the generosity and the heart of the Hindu is very large indeed. The question before the Hindu really is: "Are you willing to go more than half-way?"

The Hindu-Moslem conflict is not the only intercommunal problem in the country. But in not one other is there raised the fatal query as to the patriotic integrity. There was a danger of Indian Christians being suspect. But the Indian Christian, though in some ways overcome by the apparent superiority of all things Western, was found to 'ring true' when the testing days of 'the Reforms' brought in their train calamity and suffering. If the Anglo-Indian community were larger or more weighty, that might have presented a problem similar to the Moslems. Happily the great currents of national life swept along, letting alone the Anglo-Indian to meditate in his little eddy and awake to realities in due course. That awakening would seem to have actually arrived; and in the wide household of Mother India there is ample room for every community which makes itself generally useful to the whole body-politic. The Hindu-Moslem situation is therefore of singular difficulty among the various intercommunal problems in India, for it arises from a plane which is deeper than any of the others. The gravity of it should be realised to chasten the thoughts and attitudes of the leaders of both communities.

For it is a fact which cannot be too often stated or too emphatically asserted, that the two communities have lived together for centuries dependent on each other for their ordinary necessaries of life and occupation. Personal friendships and not only business relationships link together millions of them. The trouble comes from the few—the few whose interest it is to exploit the lower passions of the 'Demos.' These specimens of humanity are not peculiar to India. As anywhere, prejudice is a weed which can grow rank in one night when breezes of suspicion are deliberately wafted over the human mind. Moreover, when once the mind has been so treated it is easy to revive the effects at pleasure. In fact, thereafter, it becomes extremely difficult to cleanse the mind of it. The problem is of intense national importance. The interests of each community and the true progress of the whole country is now largely at the mercy of this one problem.

V

When 'the Reforms' claimed to set India on the road to self-determination, one of the very first tests of the reality of the claim was with reference to the Cotton Tariff. The connection of Britain with India started with commerce and industry; it has continued on those lines in an infinite multiplication of strands, and to-day it is of vital importance to the life of

both countries. Realising where Indians were when the British came, and realising also who the British are, it was only in the fitness of things that the economic life, all the policy and the entirety of the programme, came quickly under the dominance of British business, and has remained there since. But not unquestioned. From the time of its national awakening, the Indian voice has been heard deploring this over-dependence of India as of serious consequence to the healthy development of the country. The first Congresses spoke of it. The first national agitation was to boycott foreign goods. When, under 'the Reforms,' the new legislature turned to this, it was to force the settlement of a question of forty years' controversy. But what is the real struggle about, in its inward significance ?

That India is eminently fitted to be one of the chief food-producers of the world is true. That it can always get possibly all that it really desires by confining itself to producing raw materials, is equally true. On the other side, let it be admitted that Britain as an island is ill-fitted to be anything other than an industrial country, dependent for its raw material and even for its food on other countries. A happy co-partnership could well be developed to the best material and even moral advantages of both countries.

The Great War, however, has rudely awakened a world reposing in its Victorian security, to the necessity for every nation to be vigilant. Empires which seemed solid as adamant have melted away

like snow; nations which had lain crushed for centuries under the iron heel of the mighty have been resurrected to a new lease of life, and placed at the council table of the world. No one can forecast when the wheel may begin to turn once more, to readjust the fate and fortune of nations and empires. India herself knows of the passing of seven empires from Delhi, and reckons on the present one as the eighth in the occupation of her ancient capital. To be forewarned is to be forearmed. In India, which is incurably pacifist, and which is in no position, in any case, to make determinate moves in regard to her own separate interests on the international chess-board, the obvious dictate of common sense is to reclaim herself steadily from her present position of utter dependence on a foreign nation for her economic life.

It is not India alone that has felt the lesson of the Great War in this wise. Britain herself has not been behind in reordering her economic relationships in a wise and circumspect and foreseeing manner. Britain is already less dependent on India than she used to be. She is also widening her resources deliberately beyond even her own dominions. It will be no accident if in another generation she is found to hold her pre-eminent position in the finance of the world by stakes even more vital to the nations of men than her shipping, machinery-manufacture and banking.

Is it anything strange then that in India to-day there should be happening a steady readjustment

of economic organisation and that the control of business should pass from foreign to Indian hands? The publicists of the world know this to be foreordained, and proceed calmly to make the best and happiest adjustments for their own special interests. They know for instance that all such readjustments, between partners who have done business together for over a century, cannot happen in a day; and that meanwhile there is ample time to salvage the interest of every one concerned from present and future disadvantages. Not so the man under the electric fan in Clive Street or Hornby Road.[1] To him all this sounds like the subterranean rumble of an imminent volcano which may melt his dividends into lava even as his prestige has already gone up into mid-air as a rocket. The British business community has conferred immense benefits on the Orient; but somehow it has in every generation included individuals whose alarmist psychology leads them to strangely un-British excesses. It is these who insist on 'special treatment,' who handicap orderly progress as at the time of the Ilbert Bill, or who rub salt into an open wound, as when they collected a purse for General Dyer. This element assumes an artificial importance because of the sense of social solidarity which, in times of crisis especially, welds the whole British community into a 'bloc,' irrespective of the merits of a particular issue. Again and again,

[1] These are the European business quarters in Calcutta and Bombay respectively.

Viceroys and Governors, even senior civilians with a long record of sympathetic insight into Indian affairs, have found it impossible to break through such 'blocs.' Indeed, the saving element in the situation must be sought not from without, but within—among the more sober elements of the British business community itself, who do recover from the momentary storms of panic and assert their common sense over their wilder colleagues. Again and again, the salvation of a situation has really come from that quarter.

CHAPTER IX

TO-MORROW

If these five problems[1] are among those that vitally matter to modern India, if they are in any sense typical of her inner struggle to arrive at her own among the nations of the world, it should be clear that the old formula of 'the White Man's Burden' is now out of date, at least in one Oriental country! These five problems are all such that they *can* be solved only by Indians themselves. Any assistance from foreign friends can come only through India's own processes of education—education in the widest sense. For the rest, no form of assistance can be of avail, excepting so far as it consults the highest interests of India first and foremost.

If so, why need any foreign connection be maintained at all? To ask such a question is to reveal an utter ignorance of the nature of India's connection with Britain. The main thesis of this study has been to explain the extent and quality of that connection. The political part of it is but one factor—a very important and necessary one, but by no means the most far-reaching or the deepest in influence. Even in regard to

[1] Discussed in the previous chapter.

the political connection, Congress after Congress has voted against propositions which contemplated complete separation. This it did even in that critical period following the Punjab tragedy, when feeling was in white heat against the British administration, and all ranks were closed solid on the Indian side. It was no selfish fear or cowardice which prompted such action. At Ahmedabad, it needed the personal intervention of Mr Gandhi to secure the rejection of the proposition; but the leaders of the "Extremist"[1] Party from all provinces, and of all shades of opinion, followed the lead of Mr Gandhi in this counsel. In the two following Congresses, when Mr Gandhi was in prison, similar propositions were offered and were no less definitely rejected.

Nor is this attitude due to any vague sentiment. The day of such glamour was long ago done. The long series of disillusionments which dispelled that first glamour raised on the contrary varying feelings of resentment from time to time. To the thoughtful, even such resentment is a thing of the past. It is neither glamour nor resentment which animates a Gandhi and his followers when they consider a 'separatist' proposition, or a Sastri and his school of politicians when they resolve to serve their country through co-operation with the British Government. The political connection to-day finds its best credentials in its own history, in spite of all its dark pages. Tested through fire and water, in which loyalties as well

[1] Now called the "Swarajist" Party.

as limitations were forced to the surface, the continuance of the co-partnership has come out as the most promising adjustment that is possible in existing conditions. If indeed there had never been any such connection, and India were a free agent to-day, it is highly improbable that she would seek membership in the British Commonwealth, even on a Dominion basis. But, in the Providence overruling the destiny of nations, the connection is there, and has been worked out in an eventful history of over a century; and to-day, far outweighing all advantages of separation, by far the wisest thing is the continuance of the connection. It is on well-reasoned conviction like this that India desires the continuance of the political connection of India with Britain.

While this is true, it is equally important to realise that no Indian desires the continuance of the connection on the present basis. He expects, he has the faith in the British nation and in his own India to expect, that there will be steady progress toward a synthesis which will be honourable to both sides. This he expects not merely in regard to the political aspect but very emphatically in regard to all the other aspects of this comprehensive connection. But the political readjustment is of the most urgent importance; for the obvious reason that, taking human nature as it is to-day, the right adjustment on many other lines cannot be facilitated so long as the political relationship is not set right. Moreover, the political relationship of 'subjection' to a foreign

nation is more glaring, and therefore more galling to human sensibility, than such things as economic dependence or cultural subordination. Hence the persistent eagerness for further reforms in the political aspects of the connection, even though (let it be repeated) no thoughtful Indian is forgetting that the readjustment must cover the entire field of life.

The difficulties to be overcome are immense. There are those we referred to in the last chapter, as challenging practical attention to-day. There are a host of others of first magnitude which will challenge attention to-morrow. Some of the more perplexing of them may be presented here.

(1) Dyarchy was invented as a stage in the training of Indians in political responsibility. But there can be no real responsibility amounting to statesmanship until there is power over finance and over law and order. So long as the solvency of the country and the safety of person and property are guaranteed by a bureaucracy which is beyond the reach of the electorate, the performance of the Ministries is not much more than an amateur play in a college theatre. The time has come to devolve *real* responsibility, responsibility which clearly opens before one the power to inflict ruin and anarchy as effectively as to construct prosperity and happiness. Till then, there cannot be that psychological pressure which alone can furnish the dynamic for what may be deemed statesmanship.

(2) But can devolution be carried to this extreme, so long as the electorate is so ill-prepared to discern a proper standard of statesmanship? While it is true that the electorate in no country in the world is as yet really qualified sufficiently to guide an executive, it must be admitted without hesitation that the electorate in India is still miserably defective in that practical education which enables the common sense of the multitude to make fairly right decisions. But is there any means of imparting such education, except through political action? In India itself, if the masses have come to secure a hundred times more political ideas since 1919 than ever before, was it not by such means? The problem is not merely that the people have no political education, but that there has been no one to educate them, no real occasion to trouble them about it, and nothing to educate them in. All these came pouring in, as it were, in a single day! The educators of the people have since then been struggling to educate themselves as to how to educate and what to impart. There is no 'training school' for this except actual political life.

(3) Assuming this, it may be asked, 'Is not a province too large and too conglomerate for that political solidarity which is necessary for real responsibility on the one hand and for the education of the electorate on the other?' Undoubtedly it is. The reordering of the country, as far as possible, on lines of linguistic or ethnic

or historic unity is not a new suggestion. The objection to some of the concrete proposals have by now lost their edge and some of them may be attempted with the co-operation of all concerned.

Even then, the training-ground in citizenship and responsibility will be most effectively found in the district rather than in the province. Some of our districts are as large as some of the independent states of Europe and as populous. So long as 'law and order' implies the facing of the intercommunal situation, the education in responsibility, with all the attendant risks it involves to life, liberty and property, had better be faced within the limits of a district rather than of a province. There are some districts, such as Malabar, where obviously there can be no devolution of responsibility for many years. But there are scores of other districts where such a devolution will provide a direct contribution to the promotion of goodwill and co-operation.

(4) British India could in this manner be adjusted into 'district' units, with very widely extended responsibility for administering their own affairs, aggregated into 'provinces' of manageable size and reasonable unity, which are practically autonomous in the rule of the districts which comprise them; and these 'provinces' federated into a whole with a strong central authority (it should be even stronger than it is now) vested with supreme responsibilities, not

merely representative and appellate, but with effective, almost plenary, powers of initiative, permissive though they be, in regard to all internal administration, civil and military. This is not a new suggestion either. Nor are there wanting models of experiences elsewhere. Many of the practical problems of relationship it involves, internal and external, have been taken up and discussed by publicists. But there is a major difficulty in the conception of a 'United States of India' which should be mentioned here.

Never in the history of the world has there been a federation comprising democratically organised provinces and autocratically ruled principalities. The Federation of India cannot leave out the Princes. Already, within the meagre measure of self-direction bestowed in 1919, the destiny of the principalities has been drawn into the affairs of the provinces. The inception of a policy of Protection by British India, and, very recently, the fixing of the ratio of exchange, have decided for the Princes radical changes in their economic condition without their having any say in the matter. India spends crores of rupees[1] per annum on a defensive army and navy, the benefits of which accrue as much to the principalities as to the provinces. The time is not far off when this expenditure will be more equitably shared. Nor will the Princes hesitate in the matter. But co-operation in liabilities involves co-operation

[1] It was over sixty crores in 1925–26, nearly half the entire revenue of the country. A crore is ten millions.

in rights: if the Princes are to pay part of this bill they will necessarily have to share in the responsibilities of administering it. There cannot really be a United States of India which does not cover the whole country; and the problems involved here are of singular complexity.

(5) Supposing this has been accomplished and a United States of India established with a strong Central Executive, will it be ballasted with the weight which can be derived from a real and effective connection with the British Commonwealth? Just how could this be secured and its continuance ensured? What will it imply, for instance, in regard to a common Imperial citizenship? Will it involve a reconsideration of the whole fabric of the Commonwealth? These are not distant questions of hypothetical interest, as they may sound. The provision of an effective British ballast in the Central Government of India is a present problem. And to work it out consistently with the reality of a Dominion status for India is an impossibility, excepting with reference to all the Dominions and Colonies, whose relationships in the Commonwealth are also in a process of present evolution.

(6) As this is being written (1927) the High Commissioner of India is purchasing in London a first-class site for suitably housing his business. It is a tacit assumption that the business of the Indian Empire will for many generations continue on magnificent scale at the commercial capital

of the British Commonwealth. Is there any reason why it should not do so even though India carries out a strenuous programme of economic independence and cultivates an increasing commercial relationship with the other nations of the world?[1] When a fifth of the human race, who constitute one of the foremost agricultural and industrial nations in the world, go forward on an unshackled career of economic development under the fostering protection of the 'Pax Britannica,' the result need be no injury to any country in the world. For any nation, even the British, to imagine that it ought to, or can indefinitely continue to hold in relation to India a position of economic dominance, is to be strangely blind to facts. Cannot therefore the economic connection be brought 'above-board' into an atmosphere of frank consultation and agreement in the same way as the political issues are now being handled? There is an unreality about the Commissions which are from time to time appointed to consider one or other aspect of the economic welfare of India. The references to these Commissions are usually directed to Indian problems alone. In the mind of the British members of such Commissions, and in the mind of the Governments at Delhi and Whitehall, such problems are never Indian but Indo-British. At least such is axiomatic with the Indian public. Nor are there wanting data to confirm such an axiom in the recommenda-

[1] *Vide* Appendix A, especially Earl Winterton's speech.

tions of such Commissions or in the course of administrative detail which issue in consequence of those recommendations. To a country of the economic size and complexity of India no problem can be free from international implications. There is nothing to lose, and much to be gained by a change of attitude to that of an open and frank negotiation for arrangements and adjustments honourable to both sides.

(7) An economic arrangement is honourable, not when it is a fair adjustment of large interests, but when it remembers and conserves the human interests of the millions of men and women involved in production and distribution. As the world shrinks in size, and technical and scientific knowledge and skill become continually more current and more on a level, the conflict of interests of the toilers of the world becomes more and more the most important issue. The necessity for continually widening the franchise for the government of a country, the steady rise of standards of life, the increase of populations, the difficulties in the way of free migration—these further complicate the problem of the masses, who are after all, 'the nation.' And these problems themselves furnish a host of questions, which have much importance of their own, irrespective of their economic implications. They seem to be domestic, but the economic connection of Britain and India is so comprehensive and intimate that practically none of these is a purely domestic

problem. Not any more than, say, Mysore problems can be confined to Mysore in isolation from the rest of India. 'Mysore for Mysoreans' has been a definite slogan on which the economic development of that country is being worked out now for thirty years. It served to stem the tide of the exploitation from across the borders which was threatening to keep native Mysoreans in inefficiency for an undue period of time. But Mysore statesmen knew well that any policy of economic isolation would be suicidal; and in fact the very success of the policy of the development of the country by its own sons has drawn Mysore more and more into all sorts of relationship with British India. A protective tariff, even when it is applied to an absolutely 'essential industry,' sounds narrow and inimical. As the industry becomes well-established and begins to foster other industries, the fate of the tariff is settled; its very children cry out against it! This analogy applies in the wider and less tangible sphere we have been discussing in this paragraph.

(8) But the cargo which will be brought to us to-morrow is not all difficulties. There are in it blessings, some of which we have wistfully awaited for many a year. As the British connection goes forward, developing as an honourable copartnership, the social gulf which once yawned wide between the two races is continually diminishing. The nauseous smoke of prestige which once issued perpetually from the gulf of separation and killed

all attempts at bridge-building is already vanishing into thin air. The India Act of 1919 practically killed it on the British side: and Mr Gandhi's scathing denunciation of the 'slave-mentality' has killed it on the Indian side. Already fellowship is becoming more frequent, and, what is the chief thing, more natural. To know is to understand, and to understand is to appreciate. There is nothing to fear from 'knowledge,' on either side. I say this after many years of intimacies with men and women of diverse temperaments in both races. When a military officer of high eminence in India once told me in measured tones that in his forty years in India he had not known one Indian whom he could trust, he was not speaking the truth, as he possibly imagined himself to be doing; he was only trying to insult me. When, forty minutes later, he did the (what was to him) very unusual thing of walking with me to the gate of his compound and warmly shook my hand, he was not making amends, as he evidently thought; he was only doing what was natural to do—as an Englishman.

(9) This bridging of the gulf is of infinite value for that 'free trade in culture' which should above all things be natural and normal, on a plane of perfect equality. Even the religious message is vitiated by reason of the superior plane from which it is presented, as much as by its foreign flavour and concomitants. If, in spite of this, the Hindu has come to recognise Christ as of supreme

excellence, it is because of his own heritage of spiritual experience and religious discipline which enable him to discern what is true and great. Is it not evident that this 'recognition' of Christ is widely current among those who are outside the range of organised Christianity? And does not the Hindu make a clear distinction between Christ, whom he reverences, and 'Christianity,' which he reserves for cold criticism, or again between 'Christianity,' which he is willing to consider as one of the 'ways of life,' and Western civilisation, which he loathes even when he adopts its conveniences? And in all this measure of acceptance, such as it is, is not the genuine sacrificial friendship of good men and women the one great factor which above all else secures for truth its human values?

But there is much more than religious truth that the West can give us. And India for her part has in her accumulation of centuries an infinite variety of stores to contribute to the comfort, the happiness and the enrichment of her Western partner. In literature and art, this 'free trade' has already wrought immeasurable blessings. But life is the greatest of human arts; and at this period of man's life on earth the perfection of that art is dependent on innumerable elements, most of which are as tenuous as they are precious. This, which we call 'culture' in sum total, cannot be communicated, except in the intimacies of a free, social intercourse.

In all this I have endeavoured to look not at

distant goals but at the problems of the immediate future. Less than half of what has been said should convince the reader that the nobler synthesis which is the task of the morrow is not the burden of one party but of both. For success in such a task the fundamental condition is mutual confidence. The strain to which feelings were subjected in 1919–21 was excessively severe. Those who seem surprised that the recovery is slow are either saying what they do not really feel or are revealing a callous inability to understand the sufferings of the human mind. That the recovery of confidence is genuine is chiefly because of the attitude, not of that impersonal entity called Government, but of certain human beings, in such grave situations as the recent crisis in South Africa and the Hindu-Moslem conflict. Confidence breeds confidence—what is more, there is no other recipe for the improvement of confidence. On an unforgettable occasion, Gokhale, speaking in the Imperial Council, addressed these words to the Viceroy:

> My Lord, one great need of the situation, which I have ventured again and again to point out in this Council for several years past, is that the Government should enable us to feel that, though largely foreign in personnel, it is national in spirit and sentiment; and this it can only do by undertaking towards the people of India all those responsibilities, which national governments in other countries undertake towards their people. We too, in our turn, must accept the Government as a national Government, giving it that sense of security which national governments are entitled to claim.

Sixteen years since that occasion, in a new India, so new that Gokhale would scarcely recognise it, though the situation is far improved on the right lines, the problems of internal development are so much more numerous and complicated, that we feel the necessity for repeating that appeal and emphasising every word of it. Also, in this interval, the bearing of Whitehall politics and London finance on the Government in India have become more definite and determinate: and Gokhale's appeal is to-day to the British in Britain as much as to the Services in India. On the other side to-day it is very much more possible for the Indian public to express in action and attitude its "acceptance of the Government as a national Government." Gokhale's appeal to his countrymen is more to the point to-day than it was in his own day.

But I know not what precisely are the main guiding principles which will underlie the attitude of Britain toward Indian affairs in the future. The general impression in India is that there are no such principles. The fact of the British connection has been often described by British writers themselves as an accident. The aim of the East India Company was frankly trade and profit. For the rest the situation at any stage was dependent on the character of the men who happened to get determining power, on the Clives and the Cornwallises, on the Wellesleys and the Curzons: it was extension of the empire or consolidation of administration as the occasion invited or the conditions demanded. Things like Vic-

toria's Proclamation and Wood's Education Dispatch came occasionally as a ray through the accidental parting of dark clouds. The proceedings of Indian public associations and gatherings of all sorts in all these years testify to the intense gratitude with which India cherished every gleam of light into what might be the high purpose of Britain, and turned to them with faith on all those occasions (alas! only too many), when administrative practice was in conflict with the principles of declared policy. But even such 'Declarations' have referred to nothing deeper than policy; they have merely assumed that the connection of the two peoples will be perpetual. That may have been adequate for the days when India had not yet become conscious of her distinctive entity. Thanks to these many years of 'Pax Britannica,' thanks to all the arts of peace whose full development Britain has chiefly facilitated, thanks to the great elementary forces which have caused the rebirth of the ancient nations of the Orient, India is now in full consciousness of her 'national being.' There is now no dimness in her own mind as to what precisely are her minimum requirements.

(1) India wants to perfect her nationhood. "India is one and indivisible" is an impassioned utterance with which more than one Congress President has thrilled the assembled thousands from the many regions of our Motherland. Amid and below all diversities there is the cultural

unity which for centuries has cut its channels deep down into all life, individual and social. This culture is so distinctive of India, it brings with it such memories of glorious achievement, and it holds so many promises of still further victories, that it is eminently the foundation on which should be stabilised our nationhood in accordance with modern categories. But that culture has been equated with a social system which shows signs of crumbling down. That is a problem of first magnitude, threatening much suffering before it can be solved. More serious than that is the fact that this culture has been the ward of the Hindu religion; it is therefore in full force with only about three-fourths of the population, some 240 millions. The others, of whom Mohammedans form the largest group (70 millions) have come only in a measure under the influence of that culture. There *are* certain important elements of it—like music (which after all speaks the intimate language of the soul), and much of the outlook on life—which make for what may be called the meeker graces of life, which are substantially common to all the diverse peoples of the land. But the working out of such a national unity as will be thoroughly and implicitly reliable in all exigencies, is a most serious problem, for which India needs time and peace, and above all that dynamic elixir which comes from self-realisation.

(2) India wants not only a perfected nationhood; she wants an international position. She

dreams of no empire to rule, she wants no commercial dominance over any part of the world. She just wants a place, an assured place and a place which is her own, among the nations of the world. She is making it steadily through the industry of her millions of humble toilers and traders, and through the intellectual and spiritual discipline of her more gifted children. In these matters the world thinks of 'India,' and not of "a distant dependency of the British Empire." [1]

The more truly Indians come to their own and enter into what has been specially wrought by generations of the children of their Mother (as much as into what other peoples have to offer), India will once more serve the world to some purpose. Is it not significant that in this twentieth century, when the criteria of 'national greatness' are usually understood in terms of power and wealth, many nations should listen to the voice of certain Indians in deep regard as the voice of prophets? Tagore and Gandhi and Sunder Singh are of a 'subject race'; apparently that has not been a determining factor in the mind of mankind when it discerns men who speak of the Eternal Verities which are common to all sons of men.

But the incongruity of the situation is there. The quick fire in the Indian mind, quickly kindled because it is always smouldering, is the feeling

[1] As Lord Curzon said in contempt in the House of Lords on that occasion which led to the resignation of Edwin Montagu.

of 'national honour.' Not national power or national wealth or national prestige; but national honour, into which enters the memory of many past centuries and the consciousness of downright possibilities in the present age. When Tagore founded a world-university in a little hamlet of Bengal, he was dreaming no dream; he was instinctively expressing in a particular way what is the subliminal aspiration of all thoughtful Indians; being a poet he courageously expressed what others could not formulate in word or action. Tagore's method may not be the way it will happen; but the faith of India is that it will happen.

(3) All this only means that nations like India and China really desire a better world. They want to preserve the integrity of their national identity, they want an international recognition of such identity, and they want freedom for all sorts of commerce with other nations, economic and intellectual; and still they deliberately do not seek any special political or economic advantages as a safeguard for the recognition and freedom which they demand. They want just to live and let live, to serve and be served. And still they imagine that undue advantage will not be taken of them in a world of fierce competition and that they will be safe from injury (and even insult) in a world such as it is to-day. The desire of India and China is the same as the dream of Asoka, who thought that by inscribing his edicts

in enduring stone and planting them among the nations, he would establish an empire of love and service. China has been rudely awakened from such a dream. She discovered after much suffering that the 'Christian' nations of the West do not understand any language so well as force or its implicit possibility; and the discovery is threatening to kill her soul. Japan's evolution is happening without danger from without, but what is the price she is paying for the immunity? What heavy cost China will have to incur before she settles down to a safe career no one can forecast. India has apparently been saved from a similar tragedy by the strong arm of Britain; she has now been awakened to question whether the price she has paid for this has not been in its own way too exacting. But she has to ask herself another question too. She does not want much; but that little is such that it assumes a betterment of the world which is clearly beyond our present possibilities of prophecy. In this situation, for the very purposes she so eagerly desires—national integrity and international freedom—will not the British connection be in itself a pledge and an achievement? But how can that be, unless and until Britain is really guided, not by the psychology of Empire, but that of 'Commonwealth'?

The principle embodied in the preamble to the India Act of 1919 once more emphasises Britain's faith in the eternity of British *dominance* over India. But that was seven years ago, and these seven years of suffering and discipline have brought

much light to all parties concerned. Will the preamble to the next India Act, which the Statutory Commission of 1929 will draft, indicate some of the principles which will henceforth enshrine the continuance of the British connection in the hearts of India? If it does so, that will determine the political aspect of the connection, and in consequence many other aspects of it, on which the political situation has such great influence. But that will still be a fraction of what can be effected only by the attitude which the whole British nation takes up mentally and morally toward India. If it were merely a politico-economic problem the obvious limitations of human nature would rather point to total political separation in the first place as indispensable for an honourable alliance afterwards. But viewed as part of a widely comprehensive phenomenon of truly human values there is more room for faith.

The principle underlying Gokhale's appeal[1] was for identity of interests. That principle comes as an appeal at this time not merely to the political aspect of the connection, but to every phase of it. To apply this principle to such a synthesis and to apply it from day to day, is to have already arrived at the goal. For there is no set goal where the connection is to cease. The goal is that the commingling of the two peoples may become a living, enduring alliance which could be an earnest of a real advance of the whole human

[1] *Vide* p. 200.

family leading to an enrichment of all its great sections, for not one of them can any longer safeguard its isolation. Every day, as the great races come nearer to one another in this shrinking world, the question of questions is: 'Is it to be conflict or is it to be consonance?' Can races which differ so radically and extensively really understand and appreciate one another so as to go forward to anything like consonance in relationship? Can human nature rise to the plane where such races can feel that identity of interests which such consonance in relationship implies? These are world-questions on which the immediate problems before Britain and India have a direct bearing. China in 1927 indicates the urgency of it in no uncertain terms.

This is no place to preach a sermon. It should suffice to say that if Asoka dreamt a dream for India and Asia, Jesus Christ dreamt a dream for Britain and mankind, when he thought that, by methods which are a *negation* of force, man can raise his world to the status of the Kingdom of God. Even such is the call before us. To hear it is to realise a sacred responsibility. To undertake it is to lift our task to the plane of the noblest of enterprises which lie to-day before the sons of men.

APPENDIX A

THE ECONOMIC CONNECTION

It is extremely hard to calculate, even approximately, the total capital invested by British people in India. From pp. 215–221 of Shah and Khambata's *Wealth and Taxable Capacity of India* (P. S. King & Son, London, 1924), it will be seen that the total probably exceeds £1,000,000,000.

Just before the war, in 1913, that is, when the times were normal, India's trade was as follows:

	Imports	Exports
	%	%
United Kingdom	61·1	23·7
Rest of the British Empire	5·9	14·3
Germany	6·9	10·6
Java	5·8	...
U.S.A.	2·6	8·9
Japan	2·6	9·2
Belgium	2·3	4·0
Austria-Hungary	2·3	4·0
France	1·5	7·1
Italy	1·2	3·2
Rest of the world	4·7	11·8

Writing at that time, Sir Roper Lethbridge (*Indian Offer of Imperial Preference*, P. S. King

& Son), says in a striking way: "India is still by a long way the largest employer of British labour in the world." "From every point of view, whether of production or of requirement, the United Kingdom and India are for all practical purposes exactly complementary. What the one most needs the other can best supply. Together they constitute an absolutely self-contained and self-sufficing commercial and industrial unit; and if Free Trade be established within its limits, as Bonar Law has suggested, it will be by far the largest, richest and most populous Free Trade area on earth. And as its internal Free Trade will be fortified and stimulated by a fair and moderate scheme of protection against industrial inroads from without, the result will be the establishment of an industrial and commercial power, organised according to the best lights of modern economic science, such as the world has never yet seen.

"As against protective tariffs of Foreign Powers against British goods, Britain is now really powerless with her Free Trade policy. All that sort of thing will be changed in the twinkling of an eye when we can offer a substantial reduction in the duties for admission to such glorious markets as those of Britain and India, as a reward for those who treat our goods well—with the alternative of a substantial enhancement for those who treat us ill."

What was the effect of the War? A competent observer, a third party, makes a significant remark

(*Trading with Asia*, D. Appleton & Co., N.Y. and London, p. 258). "India's import trade, constituting principally of manufactured goods, is being supplied largely by three countries, the United Kingdom, Japan and the United States. The trade which the United Kingdom was forced by the war to relinquish has been appropriated to a great extent by Japan, and in certain lines by the United States. The struggle to retain the share that she has will depend upon the ability of British manufacturers to meet the conditions in the Indian market which the new competition has created. These manufacturers are more alive to the situation, probably than any of their new competitors and few steps will be overlooked which may lead to the restoration of British prominence in Indian commerce."

In fact, the recovery is proceeding very quickly. In 1919, a very hard year for Britain, the year of twenty-two strikes, "the United Kingdom sold 45 per cent. of India's imports, and the other parts of the British Empire furnished 13 per cent. additional; in all, an increase of 60 per cent. over the British share in the Indian import trade in 1918." The latest figures available are for 1924–25. Mr J. Coatman, the Director of Public Information for the Government of India, in the Blue Book for 1925–26, says:

"The most important places in India's foreign trade are held by the United Kingdom and other British possessions, Japan, the United States, and Germany, in the order named. The percentage

share of the United Kingdom in the import trade was 54·1 in 1924-25, while her share in the export trade was 25·5 per cent. The share of His Majesty's Dominions and British possessions in imports was 8·1 per cent. In exports their share was 13·2 per cent. The whole of the British Empire had 47·7 per cent. of the total trade, 62·2 per cent. in imports, and 38·7 per cent. in exports. The share of the United States of America in imports was 5·7 per cent., as in the two preceding years, while her share in exports has steadily declined from 11·1 per cent. in 1922–23 to 9·4 per cent. in 1923–24 and 8·8 per cent. in the year under review. The share of Japan in the export trade showed no appreciable change and remained at 14 per cent. On the import side her share increased, owing to larger supplies of cotton twist and yarn and piece goods. Germany's share in imports was 6·3 per cent. as compared with 5·2 per cent. in 1923–24, and 6·9 per cent. in the pre-war year, and in exports 7·1 per cent., as compared with 6·9 per cent. in the preceding year and 10·6 per cent. in 1913–14. Belgium had 2·7 per cent. of the import trade and 3·9 per cent. of exports as compared with 2·4 and 3·8 per cent. respectively in 1923–24. There were larger importations of sugar from Java, but at lower prices, and consequently Java's share of the import trade was unchanged. The imports of sugar from Mauritius increased in the year under review, and that colony had 1·5 per cent. of the import trade as in the pre-war year.

Large imports of Kenya cotton accounted for an increase in the share of East Africa in imports from 1·4 per cent. in 1923–24 to 2 per cent. in 1924–25."

As recently as August 1926, the Under Secretary of State for India, Earl Winterton, commenting on the inevitable development of industries in India with steady rapidity in the future and of their 'protection,' is reported in the *Times*, London, to have spoken as follows:

"Lord Winterton, in a luncheon address to the Sheffield Chamber of Commerce yesterday, said that while the great historic business of trade between India and this country must necessarily find as time went on new channels in which to flow, he was sure that with goodwill, good workmanship, and good production on both sides, there was a big future for this country and her biggest individual customer.

"There was, he observed, a growing recognition in Britain's industrial centres of the vital importance of inter-Imperial trade. We were more than willing to do business with foreigners, but we saw our best hope in the future lay in maintaining and developing trade with the lands where our own language was spoken, and where the British trader had special opportunities of knowing the habits and tastes of the population. Though the purchases per head in the Dominions from this country were greater than in India, ordinarily India, with its vast population, absorbed more British goods than Australia and Canada combined.

Among those who belittled the advantages of trade between the two countries the view seemed to be held that Britain was inflicting some sort of injury on India by sending her the goods she required. On the other hand, when British capital helped the Indian to provide his own needs, this also was thought to be damaging to British interests, and tending, in some mysterious way, to depress Indian labour conditions. These views, he believed, would not bear a moment's consideration. India had only followed the example of the vast majority of countries in protecting her own interests, but he emphasised that quantities of goods still had to be imported. There was now in India much Indian steel-work which would have been made of Sheffield, instead of Indian, steel if the Indian industry had not developed. But British trade in India was still strong in spite of the troubles that industry in this country was passing through. The value of trade last quarter was actually greater than in any quarter for the past three years. The total value of imports into India in the year ending March 1926 was only a fractional percentage lower than for the year ending March 1924, which was the year before the policy of full protection took effect, and when the level was higher than all previous figures, except those of the boom period succeeding the war. The British percentage of this total was 54, which, though below the pre-war average of 63, was, he thought, marvellously high. If it proved to be correct that highly industrialised

countries would be forced by industrial development elsewhere to concentrate on more highly-skilled and specialised products, then Sheffield's future was bright, for Sheffield made high-speed and other special steels which it was unlikely that at any rate newly-developed industry overseas could produce for a very long time to come.

"No man could foretell in exactly what way our trade with India would develop; but India's growing prosperity could not fail to bring new demands into existence, besides enlarging existing demands. Imports of textile, mining and agricultural machinery had for years been showing a tendency to increase, and the rate of progress would probably be faster in the future."

APPENDIX B

HINDU CULTURE

To attempt to present in outline the content of what is usually understood as Indian Culture is to transfer on to a post-card the entire Himalayan system, with its two thousand miles of variety and sublimity. It would call for an investigation not only as to why the Brahma Sutras were written and the Bhagavad Gita has been and is being studied and commented on afresh in every generation, but also the rationale of the plan on which Madura city has been laid out, why the

production of hand-woven textiles in cotton as well as in silk continues to increase as from time immemorial even in this age of cheaper production by machinery, why the Bhairavi is sung differently from the Todi, why ebony is inlaid with ivory and silver with antimony, why the son has little command of his parental property; in fact, why Hindus live and die and are commemorated differently from all other peoples in so many particulars. For present purposes one could perhaps venture to indicate some of the very striking points which it would be well to bear in mind in studying the interaction of India with a totally foreign culture.

Firstly, the attitude of the Hindu mind toward all the problems of life is determined by the hypothesis of Samsara, which in these four or five millennia has become a part and parcel of his mental fabric. Samsara implies the persistence of Personality, " the Soul," in the past and in the future, until it shall have worked itself into harmony with God, the essential Personality, the one Reality that there is. Coupled with this hypothesis of Samsara is the Law of Cause and Effect, Karma. The Past has furnished the present Person with all his tendencies for good or evil; it is *his* Past that has given him his advantage and handicaps. His Present is to him his opportunity, tremendously critical opportunity, because of his human conditions and all the great things that the Present in itself involves, to ' fight the good fight,' to ' work out his salvation with fear

and trembling, for it is God that is working *in* him,' so as to ensure a Future that may be entire Redemption, or at least a more advantageous setting than the present one. These two ideas of Samsara and Karma conjointly furnish the basis for the entire attitude toward life, Man and God.

Secondly, the Hindu is born as a unit in a definite and strongly entrenched social fabric. He is not born to Rights but to Duties. He is born a son, perhaps also a brother, certainly a member of a Family, a Caste, a Community and a religious Sect. He is enjoined to become a Husband, a Father, and if at all possible, eventually a religious Devotee. Each of these involve clear Duties, personal, economic and sometimes public. The situation is not taken with the least shadow of resignation; on the other hand it is usually a great joy and privilege. The inner principle is the truth that man is essentially a social being and Personality *cannot* be developed aright except in the conditions of a social solidarity that is perfectly natural, such as is the blood kinship of the Family.

Thirdly, these foregoing principles of Samsara, Karma and social solidarity, go to formulating for the Hindu his Way of Life, his Dharma. Not what Manu wrote down or any other Moses codified in a particular age. Dharma is what is being continually minted in the crucible of public conscience from generation to generation. Its only real sanction is public opinion, which in the well-knit solidarity of Hindu society can by no

means be despised. A man's Dharma dictates to him how he is to express himself in answer to every impulse in his own life and in regard to every relationship he bears or ought to bear toward others, God, men, beasts, and things. Religion prescribes to him as one of four possible means of Redemption, that he perform *his* Dharma without any motive of reward. This Pathway is called *nishkama karma*. To the average Hindu, on this hangs all 'the law and the prophets.'

APPENDIX C

THE PUNJAB TRAGEDY

SIR VALENTINE CHIROL'S summary in p. 207 of his latest book *India* ("The Modern World," edited by H. A. L. Fisher):

"Order had been restored before General Dyer reached Amritsar, but on an ill-omened day he thought himself justified in opening fire without warning upon a great crowd assembled in the Jalianwala *Bagh* in defiance of his orders prohibiting all public meetings. Only those, perhaps, who have visited the *Bagh* after studying the evidence given by General Dyer before a Committee of Enquiry presided over by Lord Hunter, a former Solicitor-General for Scotland, can realise the full horror of the tragedy enacted there. It was to dig so sinister a gulf between the ruling

and the subject race that the story of that black day in the annals of British India cannot be ignored. The *Bagh*—once a garden—has long been, save for one clump of old trees, an open space, covering perhaps the area of Trafalgar Square, enclosed on every side by mud walls of tall houses rising in many places close up against and above them. The approaches are few and extremely narrow. By one of them, leading on to the highest ground in the *Bagh*, General Dyer, with a party of fifty Ghurka, entered the *Bagh* and saw at a distance of perhaps a hundred yards a dense crowd, variously estimated at from 6000 to 10,000, most of them engaged in listening to speeches. General Dyer assumed, rightly enough, that this was a public meeting in contravention of his orders and a seditious one. Without a word of warning he opened and kept up upon them a fusillade that did not stop until, as he himself said, his party's ammunition was almost exhausted, though the panic-stricken multitude broke at once, struggling to escape through the narrow exits or attempting vainly to climb the walls, or in despair throwing themselves flat on the ground. General Dyer, according to his own statement, personally directed the firing to the points where the crowd was thickest. The 'targets," he declared, were "good," and by the time he and his men went off by the same way they had come, they had killed 379, according to the official figures given some months later by Government, and they left about 1200 wounded

on the ground, for whom he did not consider it his "job" to provide any help whatever. General Dyer was convinced that the sternest measures were necessary to spread terror through the Punjab and scotch a great revolutionary movement. He followed up his action at the *Bagh* by a "crawling order," compelling all Indians to go on all-fours who wanted to pass through a certain street in which an Englishwoman had been nearly done to death by the mob in one of the previous day's rioting."

For a fuller statement, see Gray and Parekh's *Mahatma Gandhi*, pp. 48–58, and Appendix I on p. 118 of that book.

APPENDIX D

RECIPROCITY RESOLUTION

"(1) It is an inherent function of the Governments of the several communities of the British Commonwealth, including India, that each should enjoy complete control of the composition of its own population by means of restrictions on immigration from any of the other communities.

"(2) British citizens, domiciled in any British country, including India, should be admitted into any other country for visits, for the purposes of pleasure or commerce, including temporary residence for the purpose of education. The

conditions of such visits should be regulated on the principle of reciprocity as follows :

"(*a*) The right of the Government of India is recognised to enact laws which shall have the effect of subjecting British citizens domiciled in any other country to the same conditions in visiting India as those imposed on Indians desiring to visit such a country.

"(*b*) Such right of visit or temporary residence shall in each case be embodied in a passport or written permit issued by the country of domicile and subject to *visa* there by an officer appointed by and acting on behalf of the country to be visited, if such country so desires.

"(*c*) Such right shall not extend to a visit or temporary residence for labour purposes or to permanent settlement. . . .

"(3) Indians already permanently domiciled in the other British countries should be allowed to bring their wives and minor children on condition (*a*) that no more than one wife and her children shall be admitted for each such Indian; and (*b*) that each individual so admitted shall be certified by the Government of India as being the lawful wife or child of such Indian."

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